

NEWS

in brief

Barak to meet with Mubarak today

Labor Party leader Ehud Barak is to meet with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo this morning, the party spokesman announced yesterday. At the end of the meeting the two are to hold a joint press conference. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Hariri visits US for talks with Clinton

Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri will travel to Washington today for talks with President Bill Clinton, officials said yesterday. He is scheduled to meet with Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright tomorrow to discuss the stalled Middle East peace process and Israel's offer for a conditional withdrawal from southern Lebanon, said the officials. During the four-day US visit, Hariri will also travel to New York on Friday for talks with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the officials added. *AP*

Cabinet okays Kahalani's anti-car theft plan

The cabinet yesterday agreed to implement Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani's program to combat car theft. Kahalani, who had waited for some months for the cabinet discussion, said there are constant operations underway to thwart car theft and added that their success is also due to the continued cooperation of government ministries, especially the Ministry of Finance.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu ordered a special committee made up of representatives from the Justice, Transport, Internal Security, Finance, and Trade and Industry ministries to draw up guidelines for the implementation within 60 days. *Margot Dudkevitch*

Construction work contributed to fatal accident

Police inquiries into the accident in which a policeman was killed and three other officers injured while pursuing a speeding motorcyclist in the Haifa Bay area early last Thursday morning have revealed that construction work along the section of the road where the crash occurred had been a contributing factor. There were no warning signs and no lighting had been installed to alert motorists.

The contractor responsible for the repairs is to be questioned by police. Traffic police are to examine other roadwork throughout the country to ensure that safety regulations are being followed and appropriate warning signs, including lights at night, are in place and functioning. *David Rudge*

Lipkin-Shahak makes farewell visit to Lebanon

Outgoing Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak yesterday bade farewell to IDF soldiers and officers serving in south Lebanon, as well as to members of the South Lebanese Army and the force's commander Gen. Antoine Lahad. Shahak told Lahad it was his last visit as chief of staff to south Lebanon. "As an officer to an officer, I salute you and you salute me."

You are a Lebanese patriot," he said. Shahak also met soldiers in the IDF's Lebanese Liaison unit headed by Brig.-Gen. Erez Gerstein, as well as those commanded by Brig.-Gen. Efi Eitam, head of the Golan division. He also made a farewell address to officers of the Golan Brigade, saying it was an honor to be a member of the Golan family and a pleasure to command such troops and officers. *David Rudge*

Wiesenthal: Study on Swiss-Nazi ties unfair

Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal has distanced himself from a report produced by a US center bearing his name which indicts neutral Switzerland as a land of Nazi sympathizers during World War II.

In an interview in Sunday's Swiss newspaper *SonntagsBlick*, Wiesenthal said the report by US historian Alan Schom, produced by the Los Angeles Wiesenthal Center, generalized too much.

"Schom did not work like a historian. He only linked up facts in a one-sided manner and from there produced unreliable generalizations," Wiesenthal was quoted as saying. *Reuters*

Barak: Economy loses due to haredi non-work

The exclusion of 30,000 haredi young men up to the age of 35 from the workforce results in an income loss of between \$1.5 billion and \$3b, opposition leader Ehud Barak said yesterday at a meeting with the National Religious Party's moderate Mashov circle. "This is a macro-economic problem which is a burden to the Israeli economy," Barak said.

He spoke mainly about his initiative to enlist haredi young men and yeshiva students to the IDF and have them join the work force afterwards. He said the haredi young men can contribute to the IDF in various ways. "Even if in the next few years the haredi soldiers do not become commanders of Givati, they can work in the IDF's computer units," Barak said. *Michal Yudelman*

With deep sorrow, we announce the death of our beloved

HANS STURMAN

The funeral will take place today, Monday, June 15, at 12 noon, leaving from the new Beit Halevayot at Givat Shaul (opposite Herzog Hospital).

Hilda Sturman
Tamy and Yoram Rosenbaum
Ilana and Uri Dobkin
Itai, Yonatan, Gideon, Yotam,
Yael, Sharon and Shami

IN LOVING MEMORY

29 years have passed
since the tragic loss of my dearest beloved husband, our
father, grandfather and brother
The Pianist

ELIAHU RUDIAKOW 57

forever lovingly remembered and sadly missed
The Family

חַסְדֵּי מַלְכוּת

The unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved dear father

Chazan CHAIM MOSKOVITS

נפטר Mordechai Halevi ז"ל

Chazan of Golders Green Beit Hamidrash, London.

Will take place on Tuesday, June 16, 1998 (22 Sivan 5758)
at 6 p.m. at Har Tamir, Givat Shaul, Jerusalem.

The Family

Hamas: Yassin to rule on unity offer

Bar-Ilan: Power-share proposal violates Oslo Accords

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH
and MOHAMMED NAJIB

Hamas is still discussing Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's proposal that it join his cabinet, despite a declaration by its leadership in Jordan who declared they would take no part in any dialogue.

Dr. Mahmoud Zahar, a Hamas leader in Gaza, said the final decision will be put off until the return of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin to Gaza. Hamas officials said Yassin would probably arrive in Egypt today and is slated to reach Gaza early tomorrow morning.

Arafat's proposal was condemned yesterday by Israeli government officials as a serious violation of the Oslo Accords and the Hebron Protocol.

"Inclusion of Hamas is hardly designed to make the impression that they are interested in peace," said David Bar-Ilan, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's communications adviser. "Hamas does not accept the Oslo Accords and calls for the destruction of Israel."

The Government Press Office followed Bar-Ilan's remarks with a detailed announcement which cited the obligations to combat terrorism undertaken by the PA in signing the Oslo Accords and call-

ing Hamas is "a terrorist organization."

The GPO communique said "Arafat's invitation to a terrorist group to participate in Palestinian governmental activity without demanding that it renounce terrorism and disarm its military wing makes a mockery of the PA's promises to wage a systematic campaign to uproot the terrorist infrastructure."

Arafat's announcement of a cabinet reshuffle and his offer to Hamas generated widespread response, with some Palestinian officials declaring they will not join a new PA government under any circumstances, others saying they are willing to consider it, but only if their terms are met, and still others calling it a "step in the right direction."

Following a meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo yesterday, Arafat proceeded to Tunis and is expected to return to Gaza some time later today.

PA Presidency secretary Taib Abdel Rahim said Arafat plans to divulge names of possible candidates at a PLO executive committee meeting scheduled a week from Friday.

PLO executive committee member Suleiman Najib said the reshuffle opens up a dialogue with

all the Palestinian political powers, and will enable them to confirm their commitment to the peace process.

The Islamic Jihad Movement and the DFLP have declared that they will not join the new PA government.

Palestinian sources said that Arafat has asked Hani Hassan, a prominent Fatah leader who is opposed to the peace process, to join the new cabinet. They also said Sheikh Jamil Hamami, who acted as mediator between the PA and Hamas following the death of

Hamas fugitive Muhi Sharif, will be appointed as minister of religious affairs and that Dr. Riad Malki, a former member of the PFLP, has also been asked to join the cabinet.

Jay Bushinsky contributed to this report.

Always willing to talk

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's offer to admit Hamas to his cabinet continues a policy of trying to coopt his main opposition.

As always, Hamas is leaning toward saying no. It knows any coalition would leave Arafat in control. Equally, Hamas does not want to accept the Oslo agreements, peace with Israel, and stopping terrorist attacks.

The two sides are always willing to talk, though, and there have been many mediation attempts seeking to avoid conflict or to agree to cooperation. For example, Arafat spent weeks bargaining with Hamas in 1995, unsuccessfully trying to persuade it to participate in Palestinian elections and stop terrorism.

Arafat has also engineered splits within Hamas. Two veteran Hamas activists already serve in the PA cabinet: Minister of Telecommunication and Post Imad Falouji, elected to the Palestinian Legislative Council in Gaza on the Fatah ticket, and Minister of Sports and Youth Talal Sader. They do not represent Hamas, but are close to a sympathetic faction ready to work more closely with Arafat. The PA-Hamas

relationship is delicately balanced. The PA wants to prove it represents all Palestinians and to avoid civil war.

ANALYSIS

Hence, it celebrates Hamas hero-terrorists, demanded the release of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, and limits pressure on the radical Islamic group. At the same time, though, the PA wants to show it is the boss and to reduce terrorist attacks against Israel that damage its position. Consequently, it arrests and imprisons Hamas activists and cracks down on the group's institutions.

Hamas faces a difficult strategic choice reflected by internal factional strife. One choice is to support the PA to gain a Palestinian state, which Hamas could then try to take over. The alternative would be to focus on building its own base to subvert the peace process and lead a violent struggle with Israel.

For now, as they have done during the last five years, both sides are keeping their options open, setting a limit on both conflict and cooperation.

PM denounces posters equating Elitzur with Josephus

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH and Nim

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday denounced the posters calling Uri Elitzur, director-general of his office and a former settlement leader, "Josephus Flavius." The posters appeared in Jerusalem's streets yesterday in response to recent attempts by Elitzur to involve settlement leaders in drawing up the maps for a second withdrawal.

"This simply shouldn't be said about an Israeli and Jewish patriot who has devoted his whole life to the Land of Israel and its defense," Netanyahu said. "I am certain that the residents of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza know very well how faithful Uri Elitzur is to Judaism, Zionism, and the Land of Israel."

"If I am Josephus Flavius then that means that the Prime Minister is Titus," said Elitzur in a Channel 2 television interview yesterday. Josephus (Yosef ben Matityahu) was a military leader of the revolt against Rome in 70 C.E., who defected to the Romans after his army was defeated and became an adviser on Jewish affairs to the Roman general Vespasian, whose son Titus completed the conquest of Jerusalem after his father was proclaimed emperor, as Josephus had predicted.

Elitzur called the posters "stupid," but said he "understands the pain" of the people who put them up. Aharon Domb, director-general of the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza condemned the act and said even if there are difference between the settlers and the Prime Minister's Office, they are raised in a direct and proper manner.

"Elitzur is recognized by all for his contribution to settlement activity throughout Judea, Samaria and Gaza," he said.

In the past, settlement leaders have declared the first West Bank withdrawal failed because government officials ignored their requests to be more involved in preparing the maps. They said no one but they know how their daily lives will be affected by the redeployment.

Elitzur said he had spoken to several key settlement leaders but they refused his request.

According to reports he approached Ze'ev Hever, head of Amman, the settlement division of Gush Emunim. Pinhas Wallerstein, chairman of the settlement council, and Domb. They said they wanted no part in returning "parts of the Land of Israel."

Mordechai: I refused to meet with Arafat

By ARNOLD O'SULLIVAN

Trying to downplay reports Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat has refused to meet with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, Mordechai's spokesman said it was Mordechai who refused to meet with Arafat.

"The minister of defense passed on the message that, as in the past, he wasn't going to hold a meeting just for the sake of a meeting and a cup of coffee, but only if the conditions were ripe," said Avi Benayahu. "It is not a situation where there is a small gap that the minister of defense can bridge."

According to Yediot Aharonot, Arafat had wanted Mordechai to appear before him with answers on the second withdrawal, including dates and its scope. But Arafat refused to meet with Mordechai if he came empty-handed.

"That report is wrong," Benayahu said. There had been speculation that Mordechai and Arafat would meet following Mordechai's visits to Cairo and Amman. Benayahu confirmed that last week there had been an intensive effort to arrange such a meeting. He said the idea was for Mordechai to first meet with Arafat's deputy Mahmoud Abbas

and later with Arafat.

"He did not say no to Arafat," Benayahu insisted. "There was a proposal by mediators for him to meet first with Abbas and later Arafat and the defense minister said conditions were not ripe, so he saw no point in meeting. 'This does not mean there is a confidence crisis between Mordechai and Arafat.'"

Arafat's adviser Ahmed Tibi also tried to downplay the non-meeting, telling Israel Radio that there had never been a formal proposal from either side to meet, so neither party rejected meeting the other.



Honoring Good Samaritan

Dudu Kalati receives a certificate of merit from Jerusalem police chief Cmdr. Yair Yitzhaki for his quick work in helping apprehend a Palestinian who tried to stab several female students yesterday. The alleged assailant, Jallal Abu Sarhan, 23, of Bethlehem, entered the Technological Training School in the Romema neighborhood around 8 a.m. yesterday, while the security guard was absent from the front gate. Pupils and passersby chased after him, and a taxi driver fired two shots in the air before he was caught.

(Text: Elin Weisberger; photo: Isaac Hersh)

US working on new donor funds for PA

The US is working to organize a conference to collect billions of dollars in aid for the cash-strapped Palestinian Authority, US Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat said yesterday during a visit to Nablos.

Speaking to reporters, Eizenstat said that for the time being there has been no breakthrough in negotiations but said US negotiator Dennis Ross is still pushing for common ground to be found.

Given this failure, Eizenstat urged the parties to seek alternative ways forward, particularly on the economic front. "This will lead to a more conducive atmosphere," he said. "It's in Israel's interest to have prosperous neighbors. He called Palestinian prosperity 'a win-win situation' for both Palestinians and Israel."

"Poverty and deprivation are a breeding ground for instability," he said. Eizenstat visited the

Palestinian stock exchange yesterday, and today is scheduled to meet with PA Chairman Yasser Arafat.

PA officials are presently lobbying for a new package from the donor nations to fund infrastructure projects. The 1998 Palestinian budget of \$1.8 billion is 50 percent dependent on foreign aid.

"We are already beginning to think about the next five-year program," said Eizenstat. The original five-year donors program was launched in 1993.

Eizenstat pointed to the fact that the Palestinian economy has degenerated rather than improved since the signing of the 1993 Oslo peace accords.

"The Oslo agreements were supposed to produce hope, but the economic circumstances are instead delivering despair, and this can erode the constituency for peace," he said. (AP)

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Conference

European Union Eastward Enlargement: Challenges and Consequences

התכנסות האירופה המזרחית: אתגרים ותוצאות

June 21-22, 1998
Beit Meir Faculty Club,
The Hebrew University, Mount Scopus

Sunday, June 21, 1998

20:00 Opening Session
Prof. Shlomo Avineri, The Hebrew University
Dr. h.c. Johannes Gerster, Konrad Adenauer Foundation
Ambassador Moshe Arad, Vice President, The Hebrew University
Keynote Address: Ambassador Robert D. Blackwill, Harvard University
"European Union Enlargement - A Transatlantic Perspective"

Monday, June 22, 1998

09:00-11:00 Session II
Chair: Prof. Ruth Lapidoth, The Hebrew University
Prof. Jerzy Wiatr, Warsaw University
"The Polish Debate on the Road to the European Union"
Prof. Andras Inotai, Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest
"Strategic Aspects of Preparation for and Membership in the European Union"

11:30-13:15 Session III
Chair: Ambassador曹 Lette Avital, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Prof. Alfred Tölg, The Hebrew University
"Implications of the Next EU Enlargement for Mediterranean Non-Member Countries"
Mr. Eyal Inbar, The Hebrew University
"EU Enlargement as Foreign Policy - Why Rushing Eastwards?"
Mr. Baruch Fox, The Hebrew University
"Implications of the EU's Eastward Enlargement for Israel's Foreign Trade"

15:30-17:15 Session IV
Chair: Prof. Avraham Meshulam, The Hebrew University
Mr. Rudolf Gell, Ministry of Economics, Bonn
"The Role of Germany in an Enlarged European Union"
Prof. Marc Marens, Ghent University
"The Relations of the EU to Central and Eastern Europe: The Legal Dimensions of Enlargement"
Prof. Philippe Marens Defarges, Paris
"France and Eastern Enlargement of the European Union"

17:30 Concluding Session - Discussion
Chair: Prof. Shlomo Avineri, The Hebrew University
Discussant: Prof. Alfred Tölg, The Hebrew University
Lectures will be held in English

Breaking the syndrome of silence

The stark statistics tell their own story: seven women have been murdered in the country since the beginning of the year. The cycle of domestic violence appears to be growing rather than diminishing, despite increased intervention by police and greater public awareness.

This fact comes as no surprise to Haifa University Prof. Zvi Eisikovits, senior lecturer in the department of social work and head of a research group on domestic violence.

"In a patriarchal society such as ours, where women are systematically treated as a minority, discriminated against, and regarded as objects, the biggest surprise is that the violence is relatively moderate," said Eisikovits. Eisikovits believes that one way of alleviating the problem is to make mandatory the arrest and treatment of men with a history of abusive or violent behavior toward their spouses or partners. The next step would be to assess the lethality of the men concerned and recommend an appropriate form of treatment, which they would be forced by law to complete.

"We have recommended to all involved parties the implementation of coercive and mandatory treatment in such cases, in line with the mandatory arrest and treatment policies that seem to be working in the United States and elsewhere," said Eisikovits.

"This is very difficult to implement here, however, because it needs a continuum of intervention, which means that coordination between various parts of the criminal justice, social welfare systems, and other bodies has to be the focus of what we do, and this is a very weak point in Israel."

"The only way to achieve any major structural change (in society) is by changing the attitudes of men towards women, and this should start from elementary school," he added.

Yesterday Masha Lubelsky, senior adviser to the minister for internal security on the status of women and the prevention of violence against women, yesterday hit out at what she called the syndrome of silence surrounding domestic violence. Lubelsky said that 90 percent of cases of abuse and violence by men towards their

wives are still going unreported.

"Every year police throughout the country receive between 16,000 and 17,000 complaints regarding violence towards women. According to our estimates, however, there are in Israel around 200,000 battered women," she said.

Lubelsky attributed this phenomenon to the fact that relatives, even the mothers of the women in question, are reluctant to advise their daughters to lodge complaints.

"I have spoken to endless numbers of battered women and asked them how they have managed to stand such situations for so many years," said Lubelsky. "In many cases they said that their mothers, mothers-in-law, sisters, and friends have advised them not to make trouble - to wait and everything will be all right."

"The police are undergoing a major change in attitude toward cases of domestic violence. There is much more severity in the way police handle the issue today and files are not closed as they were sometimes in the past."

"For the police to act, however, they have to be informed about what is happening. Therefore I call on battered women, their parents and relatives not to remain silent, but to alert the police and the other relevant authorities." Lubelsky, a former head of Na'amat, is also concerned about the lack of coordination between the various public bodies that should be involved in one way or another in identifying and treating cases of abuse and violence in families. She maintained that one of the "sad facts of life here is that battered women simply get lost in all the bureaucracy."

She is helping to set up an inter-ministerial team to coordinate municipal bodies dealing with the issue. Teachers could identify abuse among pupils, relay the information to social services, and make arrangements for a battered woman with children to receive financial assistance and a new start in life.

Lubelsky maintained that many battered wives stay with violent husbands rather than face the prospect of losing the roof over their heads and steady financial support for themselves and their children. This is another reason behind the often fatal syndrome of silence.

Husband reenacts beating pregnant wife to death

Stanislav Mashchirakov, 35, of Beersheba, yesterday reenacted for police how he allegedly beat his wife, Ella, 32, to death early Saturday morning with a pipe wrench. She was eight months pregnant.

Police arrested Mashchirakov soon after his wife's battered body was discovered by foreign workmen at a construction site near their Beersheba home. The workmen saw a man dropping a large bundle from a pickup truck

and went for help when they discovered it was a body.

After maintaining silence for nearly 24 hours, police said Mashchirakov finally broke yesterday morning and confessed.

He told investigators that he and his wife had had a bitter argument Saturday night, after she had told him the child she was carrying was not his. The couple has a 10-year-old daughter.

Mashchirakov said he waited for his wife to fall asleep and then struck her in the head several times with a pipe wrench.

After determining that she was dead, he told police, he wrapped her body in a large plastic bag and tried to clean her blood stains from the bed, the walls, and the bedroom furniture.

Mashchirakov related how he put the bloodstained items in another bag - and had to cut a large piece from the mattress

because he could not remove the stain.

He took his wife's body to a construction site just a few hundred meters from their home and dumped it in a ditch there, but apparently fled after being noticed by the two Romanian watchmen.

Mashchirakov told police he then dumped the remaining bags of bloody rags and bedding in three garbage bins around town, before going to the home of his

mother-in-law, Tatyana Beltzovskaya, to establish an alibi.

About half an hour before his wife's body was found, he phoned police to report she was missing from an early morning walk.

When they came to investigate the complaint, however, they found a blood stain Mashchirakov had failed to remove at the entrance to his home, and arrested him. (Itim)



Showing the flag

Two motorcycle moms display the national flag at Harley-Davidson's 95th anniversary reunion, held over the weekend at Milwaukee, Wisconsin. (Agassi Shilo/Israel Sun)

Police to complete probe of gym collapse in ten days

The police investigation into the collapse of the gym ceiling at Beersheba's Comprehensive High School 6 last Wednesday night will be completed in a week or 10 days, Negev police chief Dep. Cmdr. Dudu Cohen said yesterday. Pupils Lior Kavalo, 13, and Shlomi Toledo, 13, were killed in the collapse, and Guy Zeltzer, 14, was injured. Cohen said a chain of events had caused the collapse and that each event in that chain is being investigated.

Investigators from the police and the Southern Region District Attorney's Office are being assisted by the team that investigated the Maccabiah bridge disaster and other police experts, he added.

Yesterday, Alter Basil, the construction engineer on the roof project, was questioned under caution. He had also been questioned on the night of the collapse.

Also questioned for a second time, this time under caution, were school principal Yael Wender and Shula Abukasis, director of the company that poured the concrete for the ceiling.

Meanwhile, the committee appointed by Education Minister Yitzhak Levy to investigate the collapse held its first meeting last night. The committee is headed by Amos Baram, chairman of the Contractors Association and formerly the IDF's chief artillery officer. (Itim)

Israel, Afghanistan mull ties

By JAY BUSHINSKY

Initial contacts have taken place between Israeli diplomats and representatives of Afghanistan's rival regimes with regard to the eventual forging of diplomatic relations regardless of which faction retains control of Kabul.

Foreign Ministry Director-General Eytan Bentsur confirmed yesterday that he met with Afghan officials and described the ensuing discussions as encouraging and potentially constructive.

"Our decision to send emergency aid to the survivors of Afghanistan's recent earthquake was influenced in large part by these talks," Bentsur said. However, he regretted that the existence of an Israeli-Afghan dialogue was leaked to the local news media. "This is an extremely delicate process," Bentsur said.

A Palestinian observer of regional affairs doubted the significance of this diplomatic enterprise. "The Afghans are so badly divided and have so many rival factions that it is impossible to rely on any of them," he said.

Other foreign policy analysts contended that the fact that Afghan officials were willing to meet Bentsur and discuss normal links with Israel was very significant if only because of the close ties that exist between the main Afghan political factions and Iran.

PALESTINIAN PRESS REVIEW

Failed Arab summit

Palestinian efforts to obtain Arab support through an Arab summit conference did not bear any fruit. The Arabs states, each for its particular interests, refused to meet in an either an extended or limited conference.

The diplomatic contacts, concerning the conference are a plot against the Palestinians, Foad Abu Hijla writes in *al-Hayat al-Jadida*. "Those who work to cancel the summit... and those who would like to concentrate on issues others than our conflict with the war criminals in Israel... stab Palestine in the back."

The Arabs "criticize our contacts with the government of Israel and at the same time negotiate with it secretly." They criticize the Palestinians for making diplomatic concessions while buying weapons from the US, they criticize the Palestinian inability to improve the economic situation but fail to submit their own support. Thus, Abu Hijla prefers an "independent Palestinian" decision, because the Arabs "know nothing but conspiring against us."

Redeployment

Israel's continued postponement of the redeployment in the West Bank is the major concern of the Palestinians. Hoping that a public declaration might influence the

course of events, Arafat spread the rumor that Israel is very close to agreeing to the deal proposed by the US, the Palestinian press reported.

"We shall not accept any change in the American initiative," said Arafat deputy Abu Mazen at the end of a meeting with MK Roman Bronfman (The Third Way), *al-Quds* reported.

The idea to hold a referendum in Israel on the redeployment cannot be regarded seriously, according to an *al-Quds* editorial, which regards it as another device by Netanyahu to gain time in his efforts "to destroy the peace process."

Netanyahu ignores, however, that his policy might "bring back to the region confrontations and tension of the kind that had existed before the peace process started."

Reviewing the course of events in the last few weeks, Abdallah Awwad in *al-Ayyam* finds that all diplomatic moves to convince Israel to accept the American ideas have failed. However, the Palestinian should carefully study the new ideas, he writes. "If the Palestinians accept the new American initiative of 15 percent, which combines two stages of redeployment, their only element of strength which leaves open the door of negotiations will be closed, and they will find themselves [before] the final arrangement without standing on solid ground."

Hussein Abu Saleh in *al-Ayyam* examines "the empty excuse of security," against Netanyahu's "real policy to put an end to the peace process."

Experts of all kinds agree that a withdrawal will not hurt Israeli security, he writes. It concerns only the settlers, "not 99% of the Israelis, who are not going to be influenced by the withdrawal from 13% of the West Bank."

Refusing to withdraw from all regions, except for settlements and security locations, will cause the opposite effect, because the streets from which the withdrawal is postponed might turn into more dangerous places.

"The policy of Netanyahu and Sharon causes more frustration and despair, which, in turn, might be translated into acts of violence."

Barricading behind the "security" theory means the end of the peace process and the creation of serious political, economic and military damage, Abu Saleh writes.

The withdrawal, on the other hand, will be of great advantage on all levels to both sides.

Jewish expansion in Silwan

The development of settlements, especially the expanding Jewish presence inside Palestinian neighborhoods of Jerusalem, worries the Palestinians.

Reacting to the permit given to

build 58 apartments on the Mount of Olives, the Palestinian Authority warned for "the second time in 24 hours" that an explosion might occur and called the Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem to defend their properties, the Palestinian newspapers reported.

The takeover of more houses in Silwan is a fatal blow to the peace process, writes *al-Quds*. These actions might bring, sooner or later, terrible consequences. "They have crossed the red lines, the result of which will not serve stability and security of the region, not at all."

"If this policy continues, the Jewish presence in [Arab] Jerusalem will be doubled before the end of Netanyahu's term. At that stage, will there be anything left to negotiate over in the final status accord?" writes Niyas Zananiri in *al-Ayyam*.

Yassin's return to Gaza

The return to Gaza of Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin after a long tour in the Arab world attracted only limited Palestinian attention.

Yassin's assertion in a television interview that Hamas has "red lines" should be seriously regarded, Hussein Hijazi suggests in *al-Ayyam*.

This attitude paves the way to an agreement between the Islamic movement and the PA.

An agreement must include a commitment by Hamas not to

threaten any Palestinian obligation which is part of the peace accords. It should also give up its competition over the leadership, avoid internal clashes and refrain from challenging the peace process.

At the same time, Hamas should enjoy its "natural right to carry out its political role." Hijazi calls for the release of all Hamas detainees and the reopening of the organization's institutions.

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Barak: No threat to my leadership

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Labor Party leader Ehud Barak yesterday dismissed his colleagues' criticism of his functioning and called on them to stop bickering and concentrate on the real issues at stake.

Barak expressed confidence in his position and said there is no danger to his leadership.

"You don't build up a leadership by winning," Barak said, quoting the late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin to comment on the rumbling in Labor against his leadership. "The summer heat and cold of the opposition desert is causing some party members to be weak minded. I remember Rabin being criticized by the same people. He told them: take your hands out of your pocket and instead of whining, get to work. Everything will look better."

The ferment in the party over the weekend led to media speculation that a number of rebels may chal-



Ehud Barak
(David Rubinger)

lenge Barak's leadership or quit the party to form splinter groups. MKs mentioned as disgruntled over Barak's leadership included Hagai Merom, Shlomo Ben-Ami, Uzi Baram, and Shimon Peres, plus Jewish Agency chairman Avraham Burg.

MK Haim Ramon, is reportedly waiting to see how Barak fares in the polls by the end of the year. Party sources said if Barak continues to get low ratings Labor will have to find another leader.

At the same time, other MKs rallied to Barak's support, charging the critics with petty intrigue-mongering and self-interest, which is "destroying the party from within and ensuring Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's remaining in power. These included Ori Orr, Michal Goldmann, and Labor faction chairman Eli Goldschmidt, who warned the "subversive" MKs their behavior would not go unanswered. Merom accused certain party

members of being "heat flies" buzzing round Barak's ear, hoping to promote themselves by incriminating others. We [the critics] will not accept blame for weakening the party. We're partners and we must all be heard. If we're to get to work, as Ehud says, there must be joint consultation and communication."

MK Avraham Shohat said criticism is legitimate and necessary, but the ongoing undermining of Barak's leadership must stop. "It's not that Barak doesn't have to improve some things, who doesn't? This should be worked out in consultations. But he was elected our leader and you can't run to the media every two days to delegitimize his leadership. Those who do that are causing tremendous harm, not only to Barak but to the party," Shohat said.

MK Binyamin Ben-Eliezer urged Barak to ignore his critics. He noted that four years ago the Likud was being torn apart by challengers to Netanyahu's leadership, "and look where Netanyahu is today, and where his critics are. Yes, we can learn something from Netanyahu."

Labor's wounded hero

What a difference a year makes.

Last June, MK Ehud Barak walloped Yossi Beilin, Shlomo Ben-Ami, and Ephraim Sneh in the Labor primaries for party leadership, commanding an unheard-of 56 percent of the vote.

"This is the first time in Labor's history that such a clear, decisive victory was achieved," Barak's lieutenant, MK Uzi Baram, said at the time. "This will mean that there will be no factions and no warring camps."

Not so.

In just 12 short months, Barak has gone from conquering hero to walking wounded. Now even Baram is hard pressed to say positive things about Barak.

As Barak's standing in the polls continues to slip, with some surveys putting him behind Netanyahu among Jewish voters by as much as 14 percent, the glue that was holding the party together is losing its adhesive power.

First it was Avraham Burg openly challenging him last month, and more recently, unhappy Labor MKs talking in back rooms about either replacing Barak or fishing around for

other parties.

Why? What is it about Barak that is currently rubbing so many the wrong way?

"The main thing hurting Barak now is his party's internal divisiveness," said Eyal Arad, a political strategist for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in the 1996 elections, and now an adviser to Ronni Milo.

Arad, in order for Barak to win the elections he needs to bring support from the Right to Labor, and as a result has to move his positions a bit rightward. The trick is doing this without alienating his core supporters — something Barak has been unable to do. When moving his policies a bit rightward, such as going to Bet El and Ofra and declaring that those settlements will remain a part of Israel, Barak opened himself up to attacks from the Left within his party.

"They don't understand his strategy and want someone who will lead them on issues that are important to them," Arad said.

"When Barak doesn't do that, he is attacked. This results in a vicious cycle. The more he is attacked in his party, the more his position drops in the polls. And the more he is attacked within his party,"

But Benny Cohen, a political media consultant who served as Yitzhak

Rabin's media adviser in 1994 and 1995, sees things differently. For Cohen, the chicken came before the egg, meaning that Barak's problems in the polls are responsible for his troubles within the party, not vice versa.

"All politicians are like wolves looking for blood," Cohen said. "When the leader's position is not strong, they jump on him in an attempt to take over. When his position is strong, they keep quiet."

Barak's real problem, says Cohen, is Netanyahu's success. "In my mind, Barak's central problem is that Netanyahu is — in the meantime — succeeding to create the impression of peace

with security. There are no terror attacks and people are living okay. The economic crisis is not that deep. What do the average citizens want? Quiet, food, the ability to travel abroad, to enjoy themselves and be left alone. At the same time, negotiations with the Palestinians are moving on. Barak has nothing to lean on."

Discontent, Cohen said, is a necessary ingredient in unseating an incumbent, and right now the discontent level is not that high. "Barak says there will be problems in the future, and those who see the long run agree with that. But for those who see the short run, and most only see the short term, what are their complaints?"

In addition to Netanyahu's success, Barak also suffers from a bland public image that generates little identification, passion or enthusiasm.

"Barak lacks substance, a face," Cohen said. "Ask people who Barak is, and they don't know. He is an enigma. His positions are not enigmatic, but his public image is. He doesn't come over on an emotional level. Something is not clear. There is no marketable personality."

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Smiles hide discord between US and EU

COPENHAGEN (Reuters) - Despite declarations of unity, the US and its NATO allies have a serious difference of approach to taking punitive military action against Yugoslavia that threatens to undermine its strategy on Kosovo and touches on its philosophy for the future.

The issue is whether the alliance can be justified in attacking a non-member country to defend against an anticipated security threat without recourse to any other world authority — in this case the UN.

It is a fundamental debate as NATO, formed nearly 50 years ago to combat the menace of Soviet expansion by force into Western Europe, works on a new "Strategic Concept" for an expanded, less ideologically-driven role in the post-Cold War period.

The alliance is to present that strategy next April, and the Kosovo crisis has given an early public airing to basic transatlantic differences over how far it should evolve from the self-defensive organization it is to project itself as a defender of democratic principles and peace around the world.

Many member states, and in particular the old enemy Moscow, are anxious that the immediate outrage at the brutal attacks by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's Serb forces on ethnic Albanians in Kosovo should not prompt the alliance to dramatic actions that preempt that debate.

"We should not create a precedent when NATO acts outside the territories of its member-states without a relevant decision by the UN Security Council," Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov said in late May, anticipating a possible aggressive response in Kosovo.

Washington apparently stands alone inside the alliance in its insistence that NATO should not be subservient to the world body when it believes it needs to take action outside its borders.

"NATO should not be required in each and every case to go to the United Nations for its authority... it should be in a position to make its own decisions," Cohen told reporters during a visit to Denmark as the alliance prepared its military response to Milosevic.

He added: "NATO works by consensus. That means that all the countries ultimately agree or there is no action. But to subordinate NATO's concern for security... to the United Nations is inadvisable and not necessary."

He was speaking to reporters after meeting Baltic and Nordic defense ministers who have for decades sat on the front line with the Soviet enemy and who are engaged in a delicate dance to engage militarily and politically with the West without alarming their giant neighbor Russia.

Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup, warmly praised by Cohen for playing a quiet but forceful role in promoting such links, made no secret of his disagreement with the US over getting UN authority to intervene militarily inside Kosovo.

"For Denmark to participate in such action, Denmark would need a United Nations Security Council resolution," he said as he sat alongside Cohen.

French and other leaders have been equally explicit, and Britain, which tends to be close to Washington's line in much alliance business, is working strongly on a relevant resolution in New York.

NATO defense ministers agreed on Thursday to begin planning a range of military action in and around Yugoslavia, ranging from a no-fly zone over Kosovo to actual air strikes on Yugoslav military positions to stop the conflict, which they fear could destabilize the whole Balkans.

It is not clear what effect the differences over strategy inside the alliance will have on the effort to get Milosevic to agree to a ceasefire when he meets President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow early this week.

The wily Serb leader exploited differences among the allies for years over Bosnia, whose 3 1/2 years of war was induced largely by Milosevic's fanning of Serb nationalism.

The war only ended after the West abandoned a tentative approach and, robustly projecting its power beyond its frontiers for the first time, bombed rival forces and sent in a big multinational force to ensure a ceasefire held.

The lessons of Bosnia are driving much of the thinking both over Kosovo and the remaking of the alliance, which takes in the three former Soviet bloc states, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic next year and may well expand further in the future.

US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright told NATO foreign ministers in Brussels last month that though the primary mission remained collective defense, the alliance must face a wide range of military contingencies beyond its borders.

Sec.-Gen. Javier Solana:

NATO prepared to use force in Kosovo

BRUSSELS (Reuters) - On the eve of an air exercise designed to show NATO's resolve over Kosovo, Secretary-General Javier Solana stressed yesterday that the alliance was prepared to use force if necessary to end the crisis.

"On Kosovo, let me be quite clear that NATO will not stand idly by," Solana said in the text of a speech he was to give at the Association of European Journalists' Congress in Warsaw. We will not allow a repeat of the situation of 1991 in Bosnia."

To achieve its goals of halting violence in Kosovo and creating conditions for serious negotiations, NATO "will study and prepare for a wide range of military options, including the possible use of NATO air power," Solana said.

"I want to underscore to you that no option at this stage is excluded. NATO will play its role to help stabilize the region and encour-

age a negotiated settlement that respects existing international boundaries," he added in the text, which was released in Brussels.

Solana was speaking on the eve of a NATO air exercise over the Balkans set for today which will involve about 40 NATO aircraft from nine countries.

The exercise, codenamed "Determined Falcon," is a show of strength to back Western demands that Yugoslavia end military actions against ethnic Albanians in Serbia's Kosovo province.

"We will be holding exercises in the region... to demonstrate NATO's ability rapidly to project power into the region," Solana said.

NATO defense ministers, who last week ordered military planners to prepare options for intervention in Kosovo, had shown that "we are ready to back up international diplomacy with military means," Solana said.

The alliance's military authorities were now examining how it could use its full range of military capabilities to achieve three key objectives, he added.

These were: to halt the "systematic campaign of violent repression and expulsions" in Kosovo, to support international efforts to bring about a halt to violence and the disengagement of armed forces, and to help create conditions for serious negotiations that could achieve a lasting political settlement.

Solana said the overall trends in Bosnia, where a NATO-led Stabilization Force polices the 1995 Dayton peace agreement, which ended Bosnia's 43-month war, were encouraging, but the job was not yet over.

"We must stay the course in Bosnia in helping to build a lasting, irreversible peace," he said.

Bosnia showed the value of a coherent international approach, which was also

needed to promote a peaceful resolution of the Kosovo crisis, he said.

Solana said the recent history of Bosnia and the crisis in Kosovo showed the importance of involving Russia in finding a lasting solution.

One of the major tasks facing NATO was "to encourage the full participation of Russia in building a new, cooperative security architecture in Europe," he said.

Strains have surfaced between Russia and the Western allies over how to deal with the Kosovo crisis.

Russia agrees that urgent measures need to be taken to restore peace in Kosovo, but opposes military intervention.

Today's NATO exercise coincides with a crucial visit to Moscow by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic for talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on defusing the Kosovo crisis.



No ducking responsibility

Traffic wardens shepherd a family of ducks out of the way of a march by British farmers through downtown Cardiff yesterday. The farmers demonstrated on the eve of the European leaders' summit in the city to protest the economic plight of rural Britain and demand the end of a ban on beef exports. (AP)

Eritrea seeks talks with Ethiopia India, Pakistan to launch direct talks on Kashmir

By MANOAH ESPIRU

ASMARA (Reuters) - Eritrea said yesterday it is ready for face-to-face talks with Ethiopia to seek an end to their undeclared border war.

President Isayas Afewerki told visiting Italian presidential envoy Rino Serri he is ready to hold direct talks with Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi.

Senior official Yemane Ghebremeskel said Eritrea also wants a "broadened sphere of

negotiations."

Ethiopia has rejected previous calls for direct talks, saying Eritrea must withdraw its troops first.

The territorial dispute between the two Horn of Africa neighbors, both former Italian colonies, simmered for months before boiling over into violence on May 6. Since then hundreds have been killed in a ground and air war fought on three fronts along their 1,000-km. frontier.

Serri, who described his 90-

minute meeting with Afewerki on Saturday night as "very encouraging," said early views peace proposals from Rwanda and the US as "a good starting point to negotiations."

Ethiopia has accepted the proposals, but Eritrea has rejected them on the grounds they are part of a US policy of "quick-fixes and bulldozing."

A US delegation met Afewerki on Friday and Saturday before leaving without making a statement. Afewerki was critical that peace proposals were being discussed with the media before the affected governments had been informed.

Italy has offered new peace proposals, Serri told a news conference in Asmara yesterday, but gave no details.

By ANDREW HILL

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) - Western anger over rival nuclear tests may force India and Pakistan to come together and resume real discussion of the dispute over Kashmir, analysts said at the weekend.

"They will talk," said Zafar Iqbal Cheema, of Islamabad's Defense and Strategic Studies Institute. "Even if India insists on bilateral talks only, and rejects the third party mediation Pakistan wants, there will be talks."

Few doubt that the two suspicious neighbors will arrange some kind of contact over Kashmir in coming weeks, but progress on a dispute that has caused two wars in 50 years will depend upon India's susceptibility to outside pressure, they said.

Former Indian foreign secretary and high commissioner (ambassador) to Pakistan, Jyotindra Nath Dixit said that India and Pakistan "must immediately sit and talk at the highest level without fuss."

India sees Kashmir talks as a damage-limitation exercise to placate the world's nuclear powers (P5) and the Group of Eight (G8) industrialized states, which have clamped sanctions on both rivals to punish their atomic ambitions, the analysts said.

But Pakistan is trying to use concern about a South Asian nuclear arms race to get major powers to use maximum leverage on India to acknowledge that there is a real dispute, not a border brawl, with alarmist warnings of possible nuclear conflict.

Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan said last week that the Himalayan region is the "world's only major flashpoint," and forecast that nuclear conflict over it could erupt "at any time," unless there are real talks.

Analysts in India and Pakistan see talks at the official level the next few weeks, despite an unseasonably argument over which dates and in which capital, to be followed by a meeting between Prime Ministers Nawaz Sharif and Atal Behari Vajpayee in July.

The two are expected to meet at a regional summit in Sri Lanka and could stage a great deal more than a handshake to ease the fears of world powers haunted anew by fears of nuclear conflict they thought they had buried with the Cold War.

Analysts said that, like schoolboys kept behind in class for brawling, they might find they have a lot in common and talk in real terms about the dispute over Kashmir, two-thirds of which is controlled by India and the rest by Pakistan.

Blair Karnad of New Delhi's think-tank Center for Policy Research said that "attempts by the P-5 to keep India and Pakistan out of the nuclear club would in course of time induce both neighbors to make common cause. Both countries now have the deterrent. They do not have to fear anything from each other."

Western diplomats and analysts said that both countries would come under further diplomatic pressure to reduce tension after the imposition of sanctions, whose effect is unlikely to be felt by either country for some time.

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Redford back in the saddle

Movie Review

By Adina Hoffman

Earlier in her career, Kristin Scott Thomas was a brittle brunette, consigned to catty supporting roles in films like *Bitter Moon* and *Four Weddings and a Funeral*. She was intriguing in

THE HORSE WHISPERER

★★

Directed by Robert Redford. Screenplay by Eric Roth and Richard LaGravenese, from the novel by Nicholas Evans. Hebrew title: *Halochayh l'atzeim*. 108 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance strongly advised. With Robert Redford, Kristin Scott Thomas, Scarlett Johansson, Sam Neill, Diane Wiest and Chris Cooper



'Horse whisperer' Robert Redford gives New York magazine editor Kristin Scott Thomas more help than she bargained for.

these parts, but one had the sense that her rather frosty sophistication – and obvious intelligence – disqualified her from star status in the contemporary movie climate. She seemed destined to live out her acting days on the sidelines, cigarette holder in hand, gaze fixed warily into the middle distance, as softer, eyelash-batting women like Andie MacDowell waited off with the guy.

Then came *The English Patient*. For her role as the spirited adulteress Katherine Clifton, Thomas wore her tresses long and blonde and broke through to a startling new range of emotion. (It may sound a bit reductive to dwell on hair color as a key to character, but in Thomas's case, the dye job does appear to have helped free up her sense of self and allowed her, for instance, to laugh lustily onscreen for the first time.)

Now, for her starring part in Robert Redford's *The Horse Whisperer*, Thomas is a redhead

with a sleek, short cut and, at the start of the film, a short temper to match. She plays Annie Maclean, a jittery, high-powered New York magazine editor, a la Tina Brown, whose world is suddenly thrown into chaos when her adolescent daughter, Grace, suffers a terrible equestrian accident. The girl's best friend is killed, her right leg must be amputated and her beloved horse, Pilgrim, is horribly maimed.

Beside herself with emotion she'd rather not express, Annie resolves to take control. She realizes, somehow, that her daughter's psychological fate is bound up with that of the horse, and after refusing to allow the vet to put Pilgrim down, she loads the broken girl in the car, the crazed animal in a trailer, and drives straight to Montana, where she's determined to seek the opinion of a so-called horse whisperer, a man with a special power to see into the equine soul.

Up till this point, the movie is

gripping in its stately, melodramatic way: Redford clearly considers the horse a mythic presence, and focuses his camera on the rippling muscles and intense brown eyes of the creature. He and director of photography Robert Richardson also capture in the changing skies and grand country spaces of their American settings a hallucinatory, painted-on kind of beauty. Meanwhile, Scarlett Johansson, the young actress who plays Grace, cuts a fresh and natural figure, and the strained interactions between mother and daughter have a believable sting. As always, Redford does his best directorial work with the actors.

The problems, though, begin almost as soon as Tom Booker (Redford), the whisperer, puts in his first two hands-on appearances. As it turns out, his therapeutic gifts extend well beyond the realm of four-legged creatures: he understands women as well. Within a few

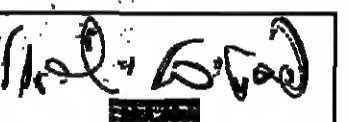
seconds of their initial meeting, it's fairly plain that Annie is the one who's really due for Tom's cure, and that the sufferings of Grace and Pilgrim are no more than a mawkish pretense to get the cowboy and the city girl together under a glorious CinemaScope sunset or two. Annie's marriage to a lawyer played by Sam Neill is already shaky, and the intrusion of Redford's sensitive Marlboro Man – he both rustles cattle and has a thing for Dvorak – is enough to send it crashing. (Although her "treatment" may sound sexual, the movie is in fact bizarrely clean cut and even stuffy in its approach to fantasies of What Women Need: clean mountain air and some extramarital kissing seem to do the trick.)

This torridly tame breed of married female self-discovery is of course standard romance-novel ground. The script by Eric Roth and Richard LaGravenese is adapted from Nicholas Evans's bestselling

book and, as Clint Eastwood did for *The Bridges of Madison County*, the screenwriters and Redford have at least treated the tacky original to a certain classing-up. *The Horse Whisperer* is a well-made (if seriously over-long) film. As shock goes, it's quite tasteful.

At the same time, one can't help but feel cheated by the condescending treatment of Thomas's character, who holds the film together yet is punished for being too headstrong and smart. The actress is consistently interesting to watch – her reactions and asides are jagged, quick, spontaneous – and her uneasy presence at the heart of all this wholesome steer wrestling and cookie-baking comes as a great relief. But it's obvious early on that Redford, as both director and manly-man acting icon, means to break her of her cerebral manner and teach her a lesson: every powerful woman and wild horse need a virile cowpoke to lasso them in.

Side-splitting circus



ISRAEL FESTIVAL REVIEWS

Definitely a circus with a difference, this French comedy ensemble distills the essence of the ring in an elegant, sophisticated and highly aesthetic circus cabaret.

Carefully and artistically choreo-

CIRQUE ELOISE
International Convention Center
June 10

graphed, meshed in a rich musical accompaniment and invested with vitality, joy and exuberance of various accomplished mime and circus artists, it is led by the effervescent Jeannat Painchaud, as expressive on wheels as on the ground.

The hilarious fun is sparked by a unique couple of virtuosos clowns, Les Voila, of whom the very memory will make your sides split.

Naomi Douadi

AT A time when stages go all out

with kitsch effects in a frantic effort to compete with TV, it is reassuring to see the work of a dedicated theater personality like Caryl Churchill reflect the innate zeitgeist of our times in terms of new but exclusively stage kind of theatricality.

The two one-act plays, *Heart's Desire* and *Blue Kettle*, performed by a cast of consummate British

BLUE HEART
By Caryl Churchill
Out of Joint Theater Co.
Rebecca Crown
June 11

actors, overstep the limits of current theater practice with a reaffirmation of the new direction open to today's playwrights.

Churchill's treatment of the bigger issues of our age, such as the breakdown of communication and the all-out terror of present-day existence, is graphically expressed in this new idiom. Naomi Douadi

THE ENGLISH Concert's performance of Handel's *Messiah*, conducted by Trevor Pinnock, was one of the festival's musical highlights. The use of period-instruments, not so lush and resounding as the familiar modern ones, did not at all detract from the work's impressiveness. On the contrary, the lighter touch and incisive articulation lent a freshness, elasticity and vivaciousness preferable to the more

customary pomposity.

The choir's voices, sounding as if hand-picked for sheer sensuous beauty, proceeded with a rare lightness, flexibility, delicacy and crystal line transparency, working up to a grandiose, trumpet-enforced climax in the "Hallelujah Chorus."

There was something touchingly innocent and pure about the clear, radiant soprano of Deborah York. Her impeccable and effortless coloratura conveyed real joy in her aria "Rejoice greatly."

Catherine Wyn-Rogers's warm, soft and expressive mezzo-soprano displayed a somewhat more operatic than oratorio-like quality in "He was despised."

HANDEL'S MESSIAH
The English Concert
Jerusalem Theater
June 10

Tenor Benjamin Butterfield's bright, forceful voice delivered his arias with gripping intensity.

The dark-timbered, gloriously sonorous bass-baritone of Matthew Hargreaves and his dramatic inflections were utterly enjoyable. The singing trumpet, joining his trumpeting voice in his aria "The trumpet shall sound," achieved an impressive effect.

Soloists, choir and orchestra blended together admirably in an inspired performance of this monumental work. Ury Eppstein

NEWS

of the muse

By HELEN KAYE

King of the Tonys

The colorful musical based on the Disney movie of the same name, *The Lion King*, won Best Musical and five more Tonys (Antoinette Perry Awards) at last week's ceremonies in New York, two more than *Ragtime* based on E. L. Doctorow's best-seller of the same name, which got four. Julie Taymor, whose work was last seen here in *Salome* at the New Israeli Opera, was named Best Director for *The Lion King*, which also won Best choreography, costumes, (Taymor again), design and lighting.

Best Play went to Yasmina Reza's comedy *Art*, in which friendship is tested when one of three close friends buys an all-white painting. Anthony LaPaglia was named Best Actor for his work in *A View from the Bridge*; Gary Haines received Best Director and Marie Mullen got Best Actress, both for *The Beauty Queen of Leenane*; and Alan Cumming and Natasha Richardson won Best Actor and Best Actress for *Cabaret*.

Kaveret reunion rerun on Channel 2

Kaveret fans who enjoyed the group's concert last month can get another dose with the 75-minute TV special due to be aired on Channel 2 on July 1. It will include excerpts from the concert, backstage stories, archival footage, interviews with the stars and more.

Transcendental TV

Last Wednesday was a full moon, an auspicious day for the launch of Maharishi Veda Vision, a new satellite cable TV channel dedicated to programs focusing on the educational aspects of Vedic science, and inspired by the philosophy of the Maharishi Mahesh Yoga, founder of the worldwide movement dedicated to the achievement of global peace. "The world is a better place than the nightly news programs tell us," said Veda Vision spokesperson Alex Kutai. Veda Vision broadcasts daily from 4:30 - 7:30 p.m. on PanAmSat 4, transponder 7C, 3932Mhz, horizontal polarity.

JEST wins award in Ireland

The Jerusalem English Speaking Theater (JEST) production of *Mrs. Klein*, the drama by Nicholas Wright about child psychologist Melanie Klein, snapped up a whole list of commendations and one major award at the International Drama Festival in Dundalk, Ireland, last week. Myriam Roth won Best Supporting Actress for her role as Paula, Mrs. Klein's protégé. The production also won runner-up in the Best Production, Director (Bruce Oppenheimer) Actress (Dawn Nadel) in the title role) categories, as well as honorable mention for set design, lighting, costume and supporting actress (Rebecca Gillis as Mrs. Klein's daughter, Melina).

Georgian troupe cancels

The Georgian Batumi folklore troupe has postponed its tour of Israel, which was due to start June 17, for technical reasons.

Magic from Prague

Josef Svoboda's world famous Laterna Magika is coming to the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center from August 6 - 11 with *The Miraculous Circus*, a whole life in a single night enacted in a circus tent that comes into being before the audience's eyes. Two clowns emerge from an egg and grow in wisdom, laughter and compassion as they age. Established in 1958 under Alfred Radok, the theater was made part of the Prague National Theater in the 1970s and has remained a must-see for every tourist's Prague itinerary. Svoboda was originally L.M.'s designer. He became the artistic director in 1973. Trained as an architect, Svoboda also headed the Prague National Theater workshops. He was the first to combine dramatic with scenic elements and to incorporate film, dance and other performance art languages into his work.

Gesher returns to Russia

The Gesher Theater will make its first trip back to Russia since director Yevgeny Arye and his talented actors immigrated in 1990. They are taking Yehoshua Sobol's *Village* and the Arye/Mark Ivanir adaptation of Babel's *Odessa Tales*. Two weeks of performances in Moscow and St. Petersburg will start in November.



'Karmiel '98' highlights local dance.

Decades in dance

By HELEN KAYE

The opening event at this year's Karmiel Dance Festival, July 7 - 9, is simply called *Jubilee*. Director Yonatan Carmon has decided to portray each decade of Israel's existence in dance choreographed to the music and songs of the period.

Carmon is also the founder and artistic director of the festival, now in its 11th year.

"The way I see it," he says of *Jubilee*, "we've made giant strides in these 50 years, and I wanted the event to reflect the huge changes in every decade, but without the wars."

Five choreographers have been entrusted with creating the dance numbers for each decade. Shoshana Damari and Yaffa Yarkoni will sing some of the songs, and dance companies from some of those nations who supported the decision to create Israel at the UN in 1947 will also be on stage, together with the Israel Ballet and other leading local dance companies.

The other two events in the huge Karmiel amphitheater will be a performance of short pieces by the Stanislavsky Ballet from Moscow, a classical ballet company named for Konstantin Stanislavsky, whose acting methods influence theater to this day, and *Karmiel '98*, in which Israeli dance is monarch, but dancers at "court" include other ethnic folk dances from here and abroad.

Another festival special, in collaboration with IDF Radio, is called *Songs by Poets*, in which choreographers have been asked to create dances for famous songs such as

Shlomo Artzi's "They Say There's a Country," or "The Café at the End of the Road" by Hanan Yovel.

Visiting companies include the Caracas Ballet from Venezuela with *The Diary of Anne Frank*, the Kinetic Theater, a very avant-garde company from Moscow, and Moving into Dance from South Africa.

Premieres are also a tradition at Karmiel. The Inbal Dance Theater, appearing together with Moving into Dance, is premiering *The Secret Garden*, a work by influential Japanese choreographer Kei Takei.

The Bat Dor Dance Company's world premiere is Philippe Tchet's *Song of Songs*, and from the Kibbutz Dance Company comes *Two + One* by Rami Be'er.

And of course there are the festival staples, such as non-stop folk dancing for everybody - 60 hours of it; Yaffa Yarkoni singing with some 1,000 youth from around the country; *Dance Bridges*, which are encounters among local and visiting ethnic dance groups; and competitions for folk dancers and folk dance choreographers.

Altogether there are some 70 events.

This year's budget is NIS 3 million - which does not include a grant from the Jubilee Association - so some of the Karmiel events can be performed at venues on the Northern border, such as Kiryat Shmona.

Tickets are an affordable NIS 40-60.

In this jubilee year, "I've done my best, as I always do," says Carmon, "and this year I hope that people will say, as they do every year, 'This festival is the best yet.'"

Turning over a new Leaf

By MICHAEL AIZENSTADT

Two years ago Jerusalem-born composer Yoram Leaf was traveling on a train from Zurich to Innsbruck. The occasion was the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra's 13-city European tour in which the musicians performed Leaf's second symphony, *Visions of Stone City*, under the baton of music director David Shallon.

The symphony was commissioned by the orchestra for the Jerusalem 3000 celebrations. Shallon's wife, violist Tabea Zimmermann, was the soloist performing Barok's viola concerto.

The 44-year-old composer reminisces that "Tabea's sound simply got into my head like a dybbuk. I couldn't let it go. So during that train ride I asked her and her husband to write a viola concerto. They agreed on the spot."

Shallon and Zimmermann are avid contemporary music champions, so it is no surprise that they responded so quickly. And after all, the JSO has performed several of Leaf's works in the past and even

recorded his (as yet) only violin concerto, a work which had never been performed live but is out on CD.

Leaf is one of Israel's leading composers. His works are always captivating and stimulating in a time when there are far too many superfluous works written and performed.

Returning to the concerto format after a long hiatus, Leaf explains, is "like a journey in a time machine. The score is more clear and less complicated from a counterpoint point of view. It is much more straightforward."

And, he adds, "This is not your typical concerto which is about a conversation and or a conflict between orchestra and soloist. This work is about the viola and its beauty as a solo instrument. I gave a lot of thought to the musicians performing this piece, about Tabea and about the dialogue and support from the orchestra led by her husband. This is much more about collaboration than about conflict. Not that it is a sentimental work, far from it. But it is more about a

dynamic cooperation with each musician complementing the other."

Writing the viola concerto was a worldwide affair. After the idea germinated on the train from Switzerland to Austria and the initial sketches were written in Israel, most of the work was done "in the summer home of my teacher Richard Wernick in Vermont, literally in the middle of nowhere with 120 kilometers of mountain ranges to look at. The third movement was written in Philadelphia. When I returned to Israel a few months ago, I did the final proofs of the score and the orchestral parts."

After more than 20 years of composing and writing about 35 major works, Yoram Leaf says "I was never as excited as I am now, just before this premiere. The return to the concerto is very emotional for me."

The JSO premieres Leaf's viola concerto on Wednesday and Thursday at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall of the Jerusalem Theater.

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Arafat's reshuffle act

The summer usually generates slow news days in the realms of politics and diplomacy. However, the flurry of activity at the home stretch towards a decision on further IDF redeployments in the West Bank has already produced an interesting political season, rich with maneuvers, rumors and ambiguities.

While Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is dealing with the countervailing pressures of The Third Way and the National Religious Party, and as the Labor Party's internal squabbles bubble over – all against a background of rumors of impending new elections or a unity government – the Palestinian Authority leadership has been performing its own balancing act.

PA Chairman Yasser Arafat's offer to include Hamas members in his cabinet is only the latest in a series of political twists that are worth some attention.

Egypt's *Al Gomhuriya* last week published a startling report suggesting Arafat plans to resign as soon as agreement is reached on the further redeployments, handing the reins of the autonomy to Palestinian Legislative Council Speaker Ahmed Qurei.

The reason for this decision, according to the newspaper, is Arafat's failing health.

Virtually all observers of the Palestinian political scene have dismissed the story as groundless. There are no objective signs of Arafat taking operative steps towards relinquishing control, and instances across the Arab world of a leader appointing a successor while quietly fading into retirement are quite rare, not to say unprecedented. Arafat's media representatives, of course, denied both the report and any hint that Arafat's health might be less than impeccable.

What the story does reveal, however, is that behind the scenes some jockeying for positions is already taking place in preparation for the post-Arafat era. This alone is an indication of how politically weakened the PA chairman has become, probably due to a prolonged illness.

In his heyday, Yasser Arafat would not have brooked the sort of innuendoes of impending succession that are now regularly being fed to the press by interested parties.

It remains to be seen, however, how smoothly reality will follow the scenario of Qurei, or Palestinian National Council President Salem Zaanoun, taking over as interim chairman when the time comes.

Israeli security experts are far more fearful that their worst-case scenario – destabilizing and violent succession battles ricocheting into Israel – will be realized.

Indeed, the PA has failed to be what the fathers of the Oslo Accords intended – i.e. a constitution-following regime enjoying popular legitimacy. Added instability and uncertainty surrounding its affairs can only work against Israeli interests.

A major cause behind the PA's apparent lack of popularity is its corruption. The PLC, which has

had to suffer not a small amount of humiliation at Arafat's hand – most notably a growing pile of legislation that Arafat has refused to sign into law – has repeatedly threatened to cast a vote of no-confidence in the chairman.

Just such a vote was slated for today, but, as it has dozens of times previously, the PLC again postponed the no-confidence motion; this time in response to Arafat's promise to reshuffle his cabinet within 10 days.

The PLC's repeated threats of no-confidence motions, which initially made it appear to be fighting for its legitimate position as an independent and powerful representative body, are now beginning to work against it.

As in the parable of the boy who cried wolf, the Palestinian law makers' credibility has been damaged by unfulfilled threats. A serious political move against Arafat, regarded as the living symbol of the "Palestinian revolution," is apparently still beyond what any Palestinian is ready to undertake.

The proposed cabinet reshuffle, including an offer to grant a number of portfolios to Hamas leaders such as Jerusalem's Sheikh Jamil Hamarai, is in a sense a classic Arafat balancing act against perceived political threats. It harkens back to the old days of the PLO, when all the Palestinian factions, from the Marxists to the pan-Arabists, were ostensibly democratically represented, but in reality were co-opted in a large and unwieldy umbrella organization that left Arafat completely in control.

Similar offers of cabinet seats have been made before to opposition groups such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and even Hamas itself, who in turn rejected the overtures, wary of falling into the trap.

Yesterday's rejection of this offer by Hamas is not surprising, for with Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin triumphantly returning from a tour of Arab countries where he was treated with the pomp and circumstance reserved for national leaders, Hamas is likely to want to further build its base of support. But were Hamas to take up the offer sometime in the near future, it could mark a turning point. Giving the Islamic fundamentalist movement an opportunity to participate as a legitimate political movement could divert it toward affairs of state rather than terrorist acts, which is exactly what it has successfully done in Jordan for decades. If Arafat manages to pull that off, in conjunction with a real attempt to clamp down on the Hamas military wing, he will have finally taken a positive step towards shoring up stability in the region.

The danger, of course, is that introducing Hamas into the PA cabinet will be only a prelude to inflaming militant and uncompromising passions in the Palestinian leadership. At this delicate stage in negotiations, close attention certainly needs to be paid by Israel to the political shifts and turns in the Palestinian political arena.

Elections now

YOSSI OLMERT

Shimon Peres once said that favorable polls are like perfume: They smell good, but mean nothing. The same applies to the new idea now occupying the national agenda: Should we or should we not hold a referendum over the second withdrawal.

On the face of it, a referendum is the embodiment of true democracy. The people are the real sovereign, and should be asked directly for their opinion on such a critical issue.

The same argument was used when some politicians and legal experts brainwashed the Israeli public regarding the need to change the electoral law, and introduced the direct election of the prime

Minister. Now that we are witness to the damage inflicted upon us all by this atrocious law and its ramifications, we should not be surprised if a referendum at this point in time will also cause us unnecessary, self-inflicted damage.

Israel is governed by a democratically elected government, a government whose present majority in the Knesset is the biggest in recent memory, and whose head, Benjamin Netanyahu, was directly elected by the people.

The chief responsibility of this government, in fact of every responsible and serious administration, is to make decisions, even if they are painful and controversial.

Any decision about withdrawals from the Land of Israel is exactly that: painful and controversial, but it has to be taken, and the sooner the better.

Netanyahu has already committed himself to accept a second withdrawal of 13%. He can violate his pledge to the Americans, and thus irreversibly undermine his credibility, but if he chooses to do so, he will demonstrate the utmost degree of political cowardice.

A failure to redeploy will show that Netanyahu is afraid to face up to the opponents of the withdrawal in his parliamentary coalition, mainly from the NRP and the so-called Land of Israel Front. To be sure, these Knesset members are entitled to their positions, but in fairness, their stand is diametrically opposed to the stated policy of the Netanyahu government – the acceptance of the Oslo Accords on

the basis of reciprocity.

IF Netanyahu is at all serious about the peace process and intends to move forward, he has to do something, and the current American initiative is the only game in town. Netanyahu knows this full well, but despite his Knesset majority and the direct popular mandate he won, he is hesitating, blowing hot and cold. This not only undermines his own authority, but Israel has to pay a costly diplomatic and PR price for this dithering.

Now is the time for a decision, which could be taken in one of two ways – through a parliamentary vote, which Netanyahu would win by a decisive majority, or by going to the public. According to the new law, this can take place within 60 days, but it should not be via referendum but rather through general

elections. The second withdrawal is an important, but not crucial issue. It is a tactical matter, one which has a bearing, but does not determine the really crucial issue – final status. If the Netanyahu government proves unable to deal with a tactical issue, can it really be trusted to tackle final status?

If this government is to shy away from its fundamental responsibility, it has to go back to the people and ask for a renewed and fresh

Dry Bones



mandate. In such a case, the Israeli public will be given a fair chance to debate the strategic issue of the final arrangement with the Palestinians.

Elections will enable Netanyahu to test his own popularity, and will also grant other politicians the opportunity to redefine their positions in light of the really important decisions which lie ahead of us all – the parameters of the final peace treaty between us and the Palestinians.

If this government is to shy away from its fundamental responsibility, it has to go back to the people and ask for a renewed and fresh

The weekly no-confidence ritual

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

It has turned into an almost weekly ritual: the opposition brings a motion of no-confidence in the prime minister over the stalemate in the peace process and/or the deteriorating economic situation; only a handful of Knesset members from the coalition are present in the plenum; the motion is passed by an overwhelming majority, and nothing happens.

The reason nothing happens is that under the Basic Law: the Government (the law for the direct election of the prime minister), a vote of no-confidence in the prime minister can bring down the premier and usher in new elections for both prime minister and Knesset only if 61 MKs vote for it.

This being the case, and in face of the deliberate absence from such votes of various members of the coalition who are trying to pressure the prime minister either to finally reach an agreement with the Palestinians over the second redeployment or avoid reaching such an agreement, the coalition chairman, Meir Sheerit, has simply decided to treat the votes on motions of no-confidence as non-events – while mocking the opposition for its futile efforts and complaining about the unreasonable frequency at which these motions are brought.

The truth of the matter is that in the 13th Knesset, the opposition – made up of the parties that today

form the coalition – brought as many motions of no-confidence against the government, as the current opposition does against the prime minister.

Only then, the Rabin-Peres government had to take them seriously, because under the previous Basic Law: the Government, the government could be brought down by an ordinary majority and the coalition chairman couldn't afford to lose a single vote.

Under the old system, the existing coalition would have fallen long ago

However, despite the fact that, theoretically at least, it was easier to bring down the government by a vote of no-confidence under the previous system, only one government was ever brought down in this way – the Shamir government on March 15, 1990, and the whole exercise (which Yitzhak Rabin referred to as "the sinking maneuver") failed, because in the final reckoning, a majority of Knesset members preferred a government headed by Yitzhak Shamir than by Shimon Peres.

HAVING said this, two facts ought to be born in mind by all those to whom democracy is more than just

an empty word. The first is that votes of no-confidence are a legitimate means for an opposition to express its position in dramatic terms, and the coalition should not pool-pool them just because the opposition cannot muster 61 MKs to support them.

From 1949 to 1977, Menachem Begin used every legitimate parliamentary device, including votes of no-confidence, to attack the government. Even though his efforts

seemed totally hopeless, and at least until 1963 were derided in the most offensive terms by then-premier David Ben-Gurion, they symbolized the upholding of democracy in Israel, despite the Labor movement's hegemony and its Bolshevik inclinations.

The second fact – and this seems anomalous in light of what has been said above – is that there are many more than 61 Knesset members today who basically agree with the content of the motions of no-confidence currently being brought by the opposition, both regarding the second redeployment and the economic situation.

Most of the MKs from Gesher, the Third Way, Yisrael Ba'aliya, Shas and United Torah Judaism would have had no qualms about voting in favor of these motions if their passage would not result in new general elections.

My bet is that under the old system, the existing coalition would have fallen long ago, but the result would not have been new elections but the formation, most probably by Benjamin Netanyahu, rather than Ehud Barak, of a few more coherent "coalition" – one better able, for better or worse, to deal more decisively with the urgent issues on the national agenda.

But at the moment, a return in the foreseeable future to the old system, as called for by MKs Uzi Landau (Likud) and Yossi Beilin (Labor), even if amended so that bringing down the government would require the support of 61 MKs rather than an ordinary majority, seems highly improbable.

The only alternative, therefore, for those really and truly worried about both the political and economic impasses, is either the formation of a national unity government (as advocated by the Third Way and Yisrael Ba'aliya but rejected by Labor), or new elections (as advocated by Tsomet and Labor). As to the idea of holding a referendum on the redeployment issue – it is probably little more than another delaying tactic.

The writer is a political scientist.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE SNAKE IN THE GARDEN

Sir, – I have just read "Cellcom – call it a ringing success" (June 12). Cellcom's CEO Yacov Perry characterizes health risk from cellphones as the snake in the Garden of Eden. I would like to remind your readers that the snake had an influential role in the fate of mankind's experience in that garden.

Our present fund of knowledge about risks of RF (radio-frequency) exposures derives from the wartime experience with radar and related tools of detection and location. This experience placed health risks in a subservient position to the tactical advantage the devices provided.

From the very first, evidence of changes in blood counts, production of cataracts, increase in cancer risk, and effects on reproduction were suppressed, systematically negated or ignored.

Two major epidemiological studies, of exposed personnel in the US Embassy at Moscow, and of US Naval personnel fighting in the Korean War, had many positive findings, but on the superficial basis that measured exposures to RF were not made at the time, the results were said not to prove a causal role for RF. Subsequently, Polish and US military personnel exposed have shown, after decades following exposures, increases in leukemia and brain tumors.

Physiotherapists using microwave radiation during early pregnancy have increased frequencies of spontaneous abortion. Persons living near

RF broadcast facilities have small increases in leukemia. The most recently reported study of Swedish and Norwegian cellphone users either of analog or digital systems. They have substantial increases in headaches, fatigue and burning sensation of the skin associated with minutes per day of cellphone use.

When Perry says "our equipment meets the strictest European and US limits," he is referring to limits set forth for military operations. No adequate evaluation of public health risk has been done and there are no regulatory limits incorporating epidemiological data, the effects actually occurring in human populations.

There are three things that cellphone users can do to reduce the risk: use cellphones for less time and less frequently; demand safer equipment from the manufacturers who well understand how to make and use safer phones; and either by keeping phones at a greater distance or using screening material, reduce the exposure when the equipment is used.

Perry, who sells a device to meet part of the third requirement only mentions that approach.

Why should Perry be reluctant to call attention to the health issue, as your article claims? Would he rather that the issue be raised by others, perhaps by attorneys claiming damages to users from Cellcom's negligence?

Since the snake will not go away, it is not better that Perry, and his col-

leagues in the industry become or hire a team of herpetologists?

JOHN R. GOLDSMITH, MD, MPH,

Professor of Epidemiology, Ben Gurion University, Beersheba

WHAT A WEDDING!

Sir, – I would like to react to Larry Derfner's article "Faceless, commercialized affairs" (June 11). To my modest opinion, Sara's wedding in 1950, "held in a little hall in Tel Aviv," was a very posh affair indeed!

I think I can do her one better. We got married some years later on the roof of the Chief Rabbi's offices in Haifa, strictly a family affair, with a few close friends thrown in for good measure.

The menu consisted of four cakes and four bottles of wine. For gifts the guests brought a much coveted set of sturdy aluminum cooking pots, plates, glasses, cutlery we still use, and lots and lots of love. The ceremony was both solemn and joyful, very moving, all a true wedding ought to be, and we felt it was the very best wedding we ever attended!

Forty years later, I still think so.

PROF. MARGE E. LANDS-BERG

Haifa.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On June 15, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported that the area of the Balfour Forest damaged by fire was twenty dunams and the number of trees about ten thousand, 50 years ago: On June 15, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that oil flow to

Haifa from Iraq was cut on British orders with an explanation that "pumping oil in a region which is an area of conflict is not a good business risk." The UN learned of the existence of the Burma Road, an alternative route to Jerusalem.

25 years ago: On June 15, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that negotiations between 6,000 dockers and their employers had reached a stalemate. The TV and radio strike entered into its fourth day.

Alexander Zvielli

POSTSCRIPT

THIS FROM the *Toronto Star*: a woman is suing her doctor and McMaster Hospital for \$2.4 million because she had pain while giving birth.

Lesli Szabo, 44, of Hamilton,

Ontario, claims her doctors told her the birth would be "so pain-free, she could knit or read a book during the procedure."

But she said her pain so tra-

umatized her that she had "intrusive thoughts," such as an unfounded belief that the hospital had called her dentist to tell him to make sure "I have as much pain as possible during dental

treatment," she testified.

Szabo, whose husband is a physician at McMaster, said she filed the suit "to make sure this doesn't happen to anyone else."

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Violation

An Old Scourge of War Becomes Its Latest Crime

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

THEY strike without warning, bringing terror to an apartment in Algeria, a Chinese shop in Indonesia, a squalid refugee encampment in Africa or a Balkan farming village under siege. They are shadowy men with causes so blinding and hatreds so deep that they have transformed modern warfare into orgies of primordial savagery — raping, brutalizing, humiliating, slashing and hacking women and girls to death.

More civilians than soldiers are being maimed and killed in the wars of nationalism and ethnicity that are the hallmark of the century's end, wars fought in neighborhoods rather than battlefields.

More to the point, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the new style of warfare is often aimed specifically at women and is defined by a view of premeditated, organized sexual assault as a tactic in terrorizing and humiliating a civilian population. In some cases the violators express a motive that seems to have more in common with the tactics of ancient marauding hordes than with the 20th century — achieving forced pregnancy and thus poisoning the womb of the enemy.

From Bosnia to Indonesia

International attention first focused on the use of rape as a tactic of warfare in Bosnia, where a United Nations commission and human rights groups found that ethnic Serb paramilitary groups had systematically tolerated or encouraged the raping of Bosnian Muslim women as part of the effort to drive Muslims from their homes and villages between 1991 and 1995.

Rape was also employed by Hutu troops against Tutsi women in the genocidal campaign Hutu leaders conducted in Rwanda in 1994. Last year, women who have identified with secular culture in Algeria accused desperate rebels fighting in the name of Islamic revolution of kidnapping them and making them sex slaves. In Indonesia, reports are surfacing that suggest members of the security forces may have been among the men who raped ethnic Chinese women during rioting last month.

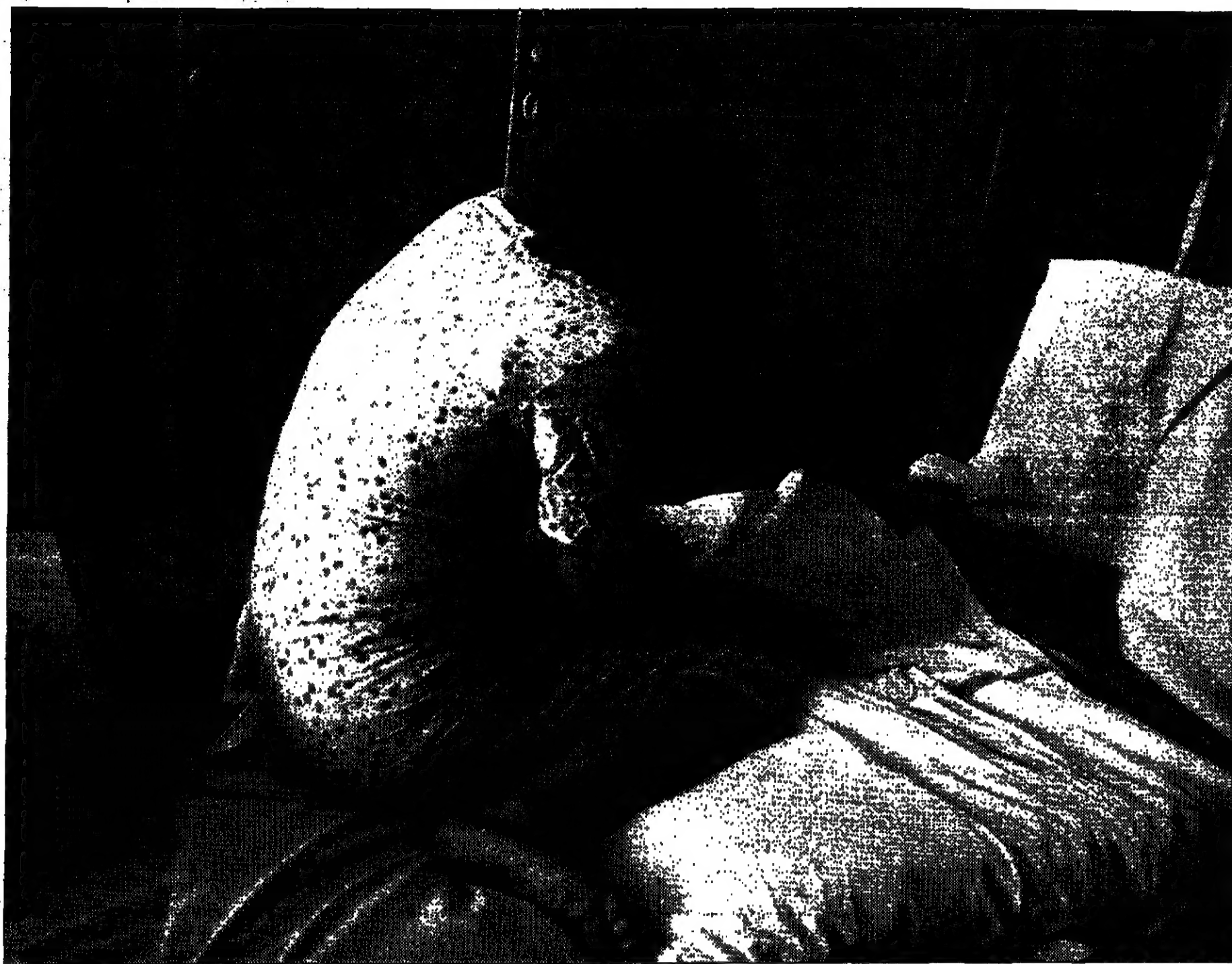
And in the Balkans, Serbs are again employing towns of a rival ethnic group — this time Albanians in Kosovo — and human rights and women's groups are monitoring the growing violence for the possibility that rape will again be one of the techniques.

None of this is the essentially random rape that traditionally follows conquest, intolerable though that is; it is different even from forcing conquered women to be prostitutes for the victors, as Japan did in Korea during World War II.

The difference is that in all four recent cases, sexual degradation and intimidation — often public — seem to have been used as a strategy of ethnic or religious conflict itself.

This use of rape as a premeditated act of warfare is challenging anew the efforts by

Continued on page 12



Nina Bernman/Sipa Press

"I tried to defend myself but I couldn't. They took my clothes, they hit me, they were pulling my hair. A few days later six soldiers came in. All of them raped me. They cursed me, insulted me, said there were too many Muslim people and said a lot of Muslims were going to give birth to Serbian children."

— From an account by this 18-year-old Bosnian woman, who was photographed at a hospital in Tuzla on Jan. 1, 1993, a day after having undergone an abortion; she told of having been raped 16 times while being held captive.

No-Fault Flasco Lesson of Lilco: Fail big.

By Matthew L. Wald

10



The Establishment, Updated Episcopalians used to be on top.

By Laurie Goodstein

11



Africa's America The other essential nation.

By Howard W. French

12



George H. W.

Oh, THAT George Bush

Wins of the Father Are Visited on the Son

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

MORE than two years before Election Day, polls say a Republican front-runner in the 2000 Presidential race has already emerged. He is a one-term Governor who has never run for national office but has, according to one recent poll, already overtaken Vice President Al Gore, the popular Democrat who has been running for the White House for 20 years.

But this isn't just any governor. This is George W. Bush, the Governor of Texas, not to be confused with his father, George Herbert Walker Bush, the former President who also lives in Texas.

And therein lies a problem that is confounding pollsters as they consider the campaign ahead.

Governor Bush's political abilities notwithstanding, there is growing evidence that these early polls — which also show Mr. Bush dominating a primary field of experienced Republican candidates — prove little more than that the public has yet to distinguish between the former President and the current Governor. Many of the people who tell pollsters they favor Mr. Bush are actually thinking of the father. There really is no other explanation for why,

Polls find a G.O.P. front-runner and some really mixed-up voters.

two and a half years before the election, a figure so new to national life would have catapulted to the front of the Presidential field, pollsters say.

This is no small matter. Polls are a driving influence in Presidential politics, and probably never more so than during this formative period before the real campaign. The public may pay only passing attention to the embryonic race now, but polls establishing Mr. Bush as the front-runner pay a dividend in the form of financial donations and early endorsements, as contributors and politicians try to be first in line behind the eventual winner.

Inflation

And polls shape news. A poll by the Gallup Organization and USA Today showing Mr. Gore losing to Mr. Bush (50 percent to 46 percent) produced an article last month headlined, "Poll

Gives Bush Edge Over Gore for 2000."

All of which has given Mr. Bush — the Governor — a decided advantage over rivals who can't claim a President as a parent.

"The number is inflated to such an extent that it's likely to freeze the field, and keep other candidates from lining up supporters," said Mark Halperin, the political director of ABC News. "Because no one else is even close to him, it feeds on itself."

None of which is to take away from the junior Bush's assets as a candidate. He is young, 51 (his father turned 74 on Friday) and vibrant, a powerful presence, a strong speaker with popular positions on major issues; he also comes from a state that has produced its share of Presidents. Many Republican leaders, people who really can tell George W. from George H. W., consider him the front-runner on merit. From that perspective, the happenstance of Mr. Bush's last name only hastened the inevitable.

When it comes to the public, though, things are a muddle, and that worries some pollsters. "We've had to make an adjustment in our polling," said Peter D. Hart, a Democratic pollster. "In our NBC-Wall Street Journal polling, we often refer to him as either George W. Bush of Texas, or Governor-of-Texas-George-Bush, as



George W.

Todd Buchanan for The New York Times

Continued on page 11

The Nation

The Legacy of Lilco: No-Fault Failure

By MATTHEW L. WALD

In the history of bad decisions, the Shoreham Nuclear Power Station stands out, a single project that has polarized the politics of Long Island for a generation, boosted electric rates high enough to repel industry for miles around, uselessly monopolized the talents of hundreds of engineers and thousands of skilled craftsmen for more than a decade and sucked more than \$5.5 billion out of the economy.

Shoreham even doomed its builder, the Long Island Lighting Company, in a business where failure was long considered impossible.

A \$42 Million Parachute

But as Lilco went out of existence last month after 87 years, and its chairman, William J. Catacosinos, walked off with a severance benefit of \$42 million, it became clear that Shoreham was such a huge mistake that no one had to take the blame.

It was as if the entire calamity had been caused by a force of nature that could not have been foreseen or avoided. And managers like Mr. Catacosinos, who were paid extraordinary salaries in return for their presumed expertise, operated at a level where personal responsibility turned out to be irrelevant.

Surely in the course of more than two dozen announcements about construction delays and rising costs either a Lilco executive or the public service commissioners could have asked whether the company — building a plant four times larger than the biggest similar plant then operating — was ready to plunge into the nuclear era. But the Public Service Commission raised barely an eyebrow before the very end.

"How do you hold them responsible in 1998?" said Richard M. Kessel, an early Shoreham opponent and now the chairman of the Long Island Power Authority, a public entity that has taken over partial ownership of the Lilco system. The commissioners left long ago, Mr. Kessel said. And it's a shame, he added, that they can't be hauled out of retirement and forced to eat their words. Or sent a bill for \$5.5 billion.

In 1984, the Lilco managers most identified with Shoreham, including the chairman, Charles R. Pierce, were themselves shown the door.

Dr. Catacosinos, who had been a director for six years and had a doctorate in economics, was installed as chairman. At the time, he said he wanted to "give something back" to the community.

In Albany, turnover at the Public Service Commission was gradual and regular, unaffected by the debacle on Long Island.

When Dr. Catacosinos became chairman, Lilco had estimated the cost of Shoreham at about \$4 billion. It seemed likely then — and has turned out to be true — that the hardware and fuel for a conventional plant that would produce equivalent power would have cost a few hundred million dollars.

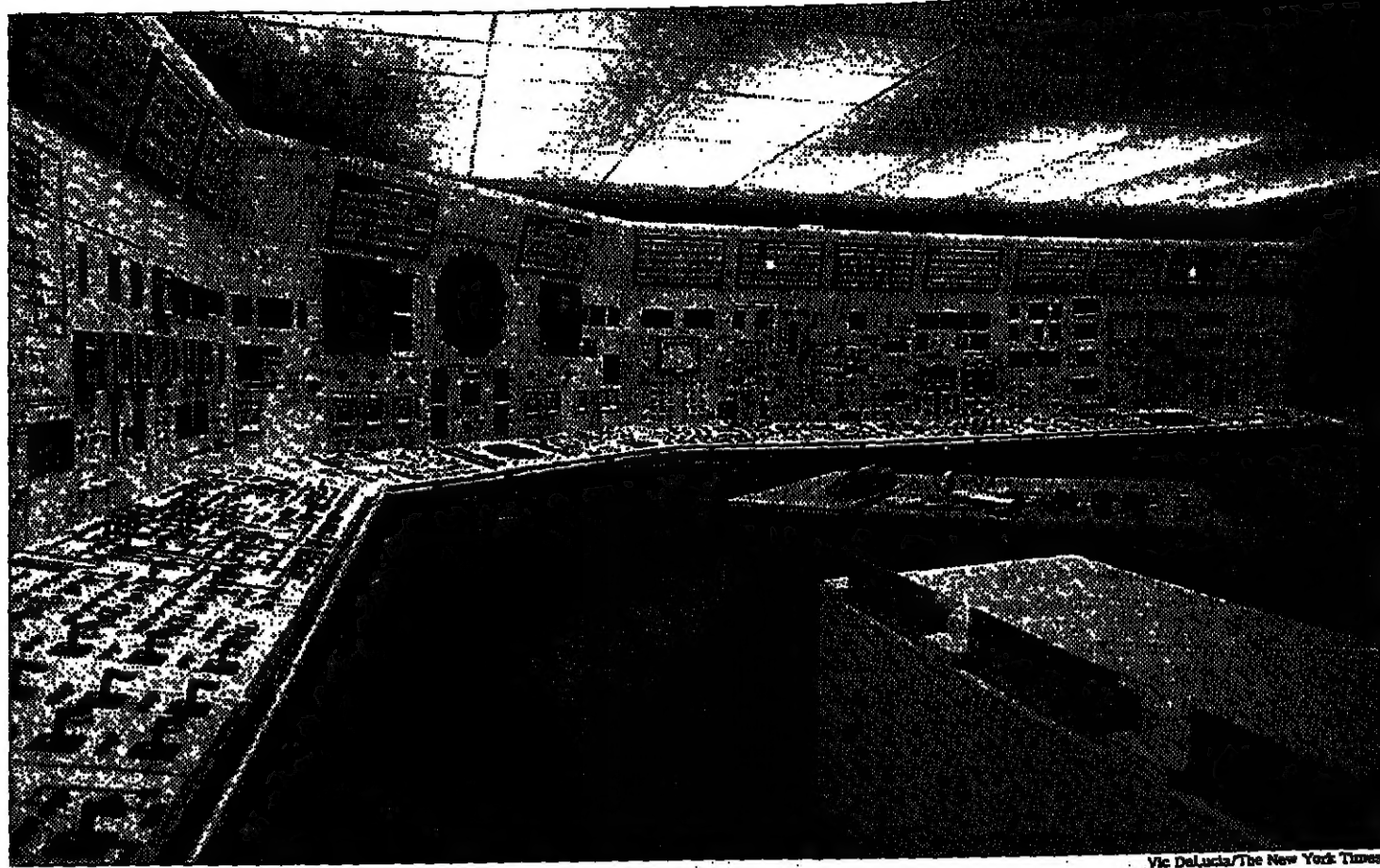
But Dr. Catacosinos fought to the end, firing up the reactor to run at low power, a step that strengthened his hand in negotiations with the state for a buyout of the plant. Once the plant was operating, even at low power, it had a demonstrated value. If the state wanted to shut it down, then an argument could be made that the state — or Lilco

The blunders were so big that only the public could pay the price.

customers — should pay. Ultimately, the state decided the reactor should be dismantled because it would be impossible to evacuate the area during an accident.

And the start-up raised the cost of abandoning the plant by \$100 million, because even brief low-power operation created substantial radiation. All told, while Dr. Catacosinos was chairman, the price of the project went up another \$1.5 billion or so.

Shareholders lost their dividends and most of their capital investment, unless they held on through the whole ordeal. Many of them, especially Lilco employees saving up for retirement, did not.



The control room at the defunct Shoreham nuclear power plant was eerily empty in this 1997 photograph.

With about a million Lilco electric customers, the price comes to more than \$2,000 for each man, woman and child on Long Island.

So what happened to all that money? It went from customers to steamfitters and electricians, as wages, and to people who had loaned money to Lilco, as interest. Late in the game, some of it went to the truck drivers who carted off the rubble.

But some of the money came out of the workers' pockets. In 1984 Lilco announced a 5 percent pay cut for most of them, triggering a six-week strike, the only one in the company's history.

Paul C. Parsley, a former utility analyst at Lehman Brothers and a longtime specialist in nuclear companies, keeps a collection of Lucite plaques given to the bond underwriters for the plant. He pulled them off a shelf last week when asked who else had benefited.

Lots of Wall Street firms did well handling the bonds that raised billions for construction, he said. And they profited again by handling the sale of Lilco's transmission and distribution assets to LIPA, the newly formed power authority, as well as the merger of Lilco generating plant and gas system with the parent company of Brooklyn Union Gas.

The new company is called Marketspan, and Dr. Catacosinos heads it.

No matter how badly utilities blunder, they are so big and so important that they never actually go away; they just assume new names and forms.

Marketspan has a 15-year contract to use Lilco's generating stations to supply power to LIPA, and an 8-year contract to deliver that power over Lilco's old transmission and distribution system.

Unfair Hindsight

"It's been a tough road," said Ellen Balzarini, a spokeswoman for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers local 1048, which represents the people who climb the poles and tend the turbines. They now work for Marketspan and are pleased that they did not lose any jobs, she said.

There are only 2,800 of them now, including contractor employees, down from 3,600 workers 18 years ago.

It is possible, of course, to view the succession of bad decisions unfairly in hindsight. "It was an oil-dependent company, really the only one in the country of any size," said Edward J. Tirello, a stock analyst now at BT Alex Brown. "Natural gas was hard to find, and if you believed the scenario at that time, of \$100-a-barrel oil, that made the plant O.K."

The problem is everyone fast-forwards to now.

Oil has been under \$20 a barrel for most of the last few years, and OPEC no longer seems like such a threat.

And a repetition seems unlikely. Utilities do not make construction mistakes like Shoreham now because they barely build power plants at all; now most are put up by entrepreneurs, who favor small plants that can be built quickly. They do not have to make long-term guesses about demand.

This is small comfort on Long Island. Irving Lika, a lawyer from Babylon who organized the first opposition to Lilco's nuclear plans, said that around the country electricity prices are falling because of deregulation and competition. Lika's exclusive contract with Marketspan would delay the benefits of competition on Long Island.

Still, there is some good news.

Rates should fall by 20 percent because dividends will no longer be paid and because financing will be done through tax-free bonds, said Mr. Kessel, Lilco's old nemesis.

But he added: "It's a frustration. If there are people out there who somehow want justice, they're not going to get it. The people who created this mess are long since gone."

The Liberal Myth

Whining and Dining Out As Hollywood Conservatives

By JAMES STERNGOLD

IF you want to know what is wrong with the movie business, just ask Lionel Chetwynd. Mr. Chetwynd has written the scripts for more than a dozen successful movies and says he has been frustrated in his efforts to take his career a step higher. The problem is not quality, he argued — his films like "The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz" and "Kissinger and Nixon" have won widespread praise.

No, he insisted, the barrier is his politics: Mr. Chetwynd is a conservative.

Hollywood has a reputation — though much disputed — as one of the country's staunchest bastions of liberalism, led by the likes of Barbra Streisand, Steven Spielberg and Jeffrey Katzenberg, all friends of President Clinton (who was scheduled to be here yesterday for a fund-raiser). The real problem, Mr. Chetwynd said, is not simply what the Hollywood establishment believes but the fact that it shuns those who dare to think differently.

"There's no longer a blacklist in this business," claimed Mr. Chetwynd, who helped found a conservative group here called the Wednesday Morning Club and has long insisted that there is a liberal bias. "There's something else, and it's called a white list. It's the people who get the best jobs. And it's very hard to get on the white list if you're conservative. Being a conservative here is taken to mean, 'I'm not a good person.' Conservatism is dealt with as a disease, as a pathology."

Charlton Heston and others sometimes feel that the left should get out of Dodge.

Hollywood's political leanings were highlighted last week by the election of Charlton Heston, the 73-year-old Academy Award winner, as president of the highly conservative National Rifle Association. Mr. Heston said that at the top of his agenda as head of the N.R.A. would be a campaign of ousting the huge number of gun owners in Hollywood. This public naming would be his way of letting them know that it was O.K. to express what he regards as their true, conservative views, openly.

"It puzzles me, the number of major, major stars who are gun users and won't say anything," Mr. Heston said in an interview. "They're scared it will hurt their careers, but what can they lose?"

Arnold, Bruce and Mel

Those views are rejected by many people here. Though liberals have long flourished in Hollywood, despite the red-baiting of the blacklist era, so have conservatives.

Numerous stars — Arnold Schwarzenegger, Bruce Willis and Mel Gibson among them — are known for holding nonliberal views, and they enjoy stellar careers.

And none other than Rupert Murdoch, a man of deeply conservative convictions, controls 20th Century Fox.

When members of the entertainment industry have gone into public life, they have more often than not been, like Mr. Heston, from the right. George Murphy, Ronald Reagan and Sonny Bono were all Republicans. Louis B. Mayer and many other legends of Hollywood were known for their strong conservative views and anti-union biases.

"You go back 30 years, at that time the studios were very conservative," said Lew Wasserman, the former chairman of MCA and for decades the industry's most influential figure in Washington. "The liberals only came out after Kennedy came into office, but I'll bet if you did a secret poll, Hollywood would look identical to the rest of the country politically. It's never been a monolithic community, and the only people who suffered were people who didn't have what it took to succeed."

Hollywood is now dominated by huge, pragmatic companies: Time Warner, General Electric, the Walt Disney Company and others. These companies give generously to Democrats and Republicans because they engage in many businesses in many parts of the world; they often need Government help on many issues.

Box Office First

In recent years, money flowing from Hollywood to Washington has become more evenly distributed between the two parties. The Center for Responsive Politics said Hollywood's political action committees donated \$1.54 million to Republican candidates and \$1.04 million to Democrats in campaigns in 1995 and 1996. That marked the first time Republicans received more than Democrats. Since then welcoming audiences here have greeted numerous Republicans, including Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, Representatives Henry Hyde and John Kasich, Senators Trent Lott and Arlen Specter and Gov. George W. Bush of Texas.

"It's simple, in this town, the name of the game is making money," said Pat Kingsley, a top publicist and former Democratic fund-raiser. "The bottom line for everybody is, 'What can make my movie a success?' People ask about box office, not libtux tests."

The film maker Rob Reiner, known for his liberalism, is negotiating with Bruce Willis to appear in "The Story of Us," without any apparent concerns about Mr. Willis's right-leaning views. Even Mr. Chetwynd conceded that dollars and cents come first.

"The thing to understand about Hollywood's liberalism is it stops at the studio gates," he said.

Larry Gelbart, who co-wrote the play "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum," and wrote the screenplay for the movie "Barbarians at the Gate," said that despite the conventional wisdom, many entertainment leaders have long held to conservative views, even though it has been convenient for some people to describe the industry otherwise.

"That's been the traditional function of the right, to make it look as though Hollywood has been taken over by the left," Mr. Gelbart said.

Jack Valenti, chairman of the Motion Picture Association of America, the industry's Washington trade group, summed up the attitude here. "This business is pretty focused," he said. "The question is, can this idea or this actor tell a story so well that people are going to pay to put their butts in a seat and watch it? The idea that there's a test is a canard."

Let My Barrels Blaze

And lo, Charlton Heston went forth in celluloid before the multitudes. And the box office did say unto the moguls that while on the one hand there is Moses, on the other there is taking the law into your own hands. And verily did they often beseech the future N.R.A. head to brandish sticks of fire in roles of uneven caliber.



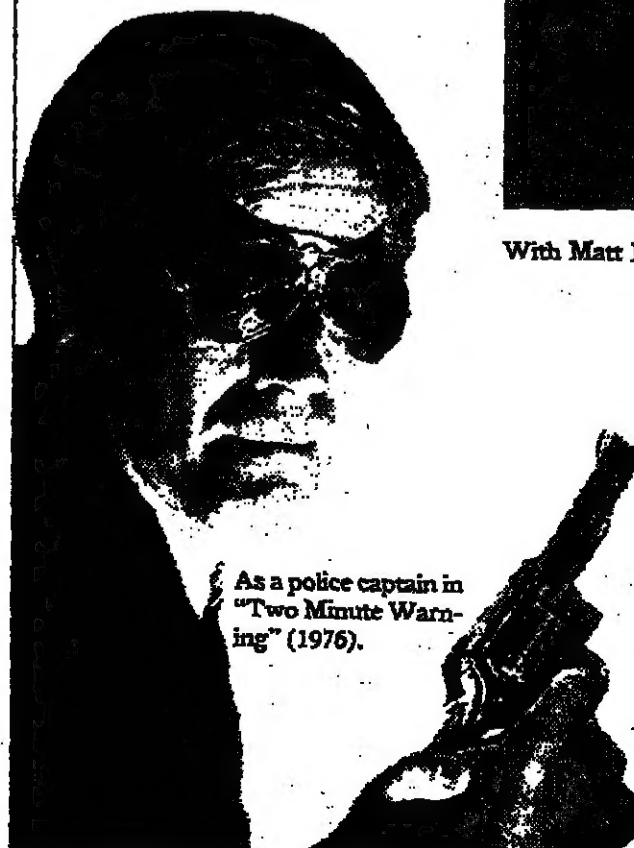
In "Planet of the Apes" (1968).



With Mary Sinclair in "Arrowhead" (1953).



With Matt LeBlanc in an episode of "Friends."



As a police captain in "Two Minute Warning" (1976).



In "Major Dundee" (1965).

The Nation

Look Who's Leading the Country

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

THE conspiracy theorists have it all wrong. The United States Government is not run by Freemasons. Or by the Pope or Jewish bankers.

The American people are entitled to the truth: the Government is run by Southern Baptists, who were recently in the news for boycotting Disney, proselytizing Jews and, just last week, declaring that wives should submit to their husbands.

The country's highest elected officials are Southern Baptists: President Clinton and Vice President Gore; Speaker Newt Gingrich; Strom Thurmond, President pro tem of the Senate; Trent Lott, Senate majority leader; Tom DeLay, House majority leader, and Richard Gephardt, House minority leader.

If some disaster were to befall the President, the first three officials eligible to succeed him would be you-know-what, which is a remarkable shift from the era when the prototypical Washington politician was, like former President George Bush, an Episcopalian.

"We're no longer out in the cold," said Richard D. Land, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's

The Southern Baptists, along with the South, now dominate national politics.

Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission. "We're on the inside now. We don't have to explain to Bill Clinton and Al Gore how important Southern Baptists are to the political life of this nation. We had to explain it to George Bush."

The dominance of Southern Baptists in top leadership is in many ways testimony to the sway of the South in national elections these days. If Minnesota and Wisconsin dominated American politics, Lutherans might be running the country. A majority of the South's population is Baptist, and of the various Baptist groups and denominations (which include American Baptists, Free Will Baptists and the predominantly black National Baptist), the Southern Baptist Convention has grown into the nation's largest Protestant denomination, with nearly 16 million members.

"In Southern states, the big church in the middle of town is the Southern Baptist church," said Arthur E. Farnsley, research director at The Public Center at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, who wrote "Southern Baptist Politics" (Penn State Press, 1994). "It is mainstream culture there."

Over the last four decades, the religious affiliations of members of Congress have shifted, according to James T. Duke, a professor of sociology at Brigham Young University. The number of Senators and Representatives who are members of liberal and moderate



An Oklahoma choir singing last week at the Southern Baptist Convention in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Protestant denominations like Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Methodists has fallen to 249 in the 1995-1997 years from 335 in 1980. Yet the number of conservative to fundamentalist Protestants, including Southern Baptist and Assembly of God churches, has remained steady, rising minimally from 71 in 1980 to 77 in 1995.

More Coincidence Than Destiny

So who has taken the seats vacated by the liberal and moderate Protestants? Mr. Duke found that they are now occupied by those who, only 50 years ago, were Washington outsiders: Catholics, Jews and Mormons. In the 88th Congress in 1960, there were 102 Catholics, 12 Jews and 7 Mormons. By the 104th Congress in 1995, there were 147 Catholics, 32 Jews and 14 Mormons.

So the current slate of "Big Six" Southern Baptist politicians may be more coincidence than destiny. And

their religious affiliation probably has little impact on public policy, for Southern Baptists see eye to eye about as often as Mr. Clinton and Mr. Thurmond do. Such independence of thought is thoroughly Baptist.

"Historically, Baptists have held the position that people should be free in their consciences, and that ultimately you are accountable to God directly," said Larry C. Ingram, professor of sociology at the University of Tennessee at Martin, who has written about Southern Baptists. "You're not accountable to the church."

After a 20-year struggle, conservatives have saturated the leadership of the Southern Baptist Convention, producing eyebrow-raising, newsmaking decisions. At their meeting last week in Salt Lake City, they voted to amend their statement of faith to say that a wife should "submit herself graciously" to her husband. Last year, they announced a boycott of the Disney Company because they believe that it condones homosexuality. Two



Southern Baptists Clinton, Gore and Gingrich.

years ago, they voted to appoint a missionary to evangelize Jews.

Southern Baptists are known for what many would call a liberal tradition of championing religious freedom. Roger Williams was, briefly, a Baptist when he founded the Rhode Island colony as a haven for persecuted Christians. As the Baptists spread south, they preached their belief in religious freedom and pushed the Continental Congress to guarantee the separation of church and state.

Religious Freedom

Perhaps because of this libertarian impulse, Baptists have a history of breaking away from their break-away groups. Debates over slavery, liberalism and fundamentalism have divided them in the past. Now that the conservatives have solidified their takeover of the Southern Baptist Convention, the moderates have formed the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. About 1,600 churches are redirecting their denominational contributions to the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, though most have not renounced their affiliation with the Southern Baptist Convention. Yet the fellowship is one indicator of diversity among Southern Baptists.

"You can be a member of a Southern Baptist church that ordains women to the ministry, that is open and affirming of gay and lesbian people, that is way left-wing peacenik," said Nancy Ammerman, a sociologist of religion at Hartford Seminary. "They are there, not very many of them, and most of them are way alienated from the current denomination's administration."

At Washington cocktail parties, said James Dunn, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee, people are often shocked to learn that he is a Southern Baptist. "I tell them I'm a Bill Moyers-Barbara Jordan-Jimmy Carter kind of Baptist," he said. "You can see it dawn in their faces. Those are three Baptists — and all Southern Baptists — whose faith and religious involvement is not only not an embarrassment but is central in their lives to who they are, and what they have contributed."

And the Survey Says...

Colleges Seek Glory In the Polling Game

By JOSEPH BERGER

THEY do not have the academic cachet of a Harvard, nor will they forever be identified with winning one for the Gipper like Notre Dame. But many unassuming schools, including those with tongue-curling names like Quinnipiac College, have discovered a sly way to get themselves better known.

They poll. What do New Yorkers think about the Yankees leaving the Bronx? Quinnipiac, in Hamden, Conn., found that by an 81-to-7 margin, they want the Yankees to stay put. Which President do Americans most admire? Marist College in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., revealed that John F. Kennedy edges out Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan.

Quinnipiac, Marist, Manhattanville College in Purchase, N.Y., Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, Va., the University of Southern Maine in Portland

Gawiser, president of the National Council on Public Polls. Older polls, like those conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago and the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, have long gathered data for government agencies, foundations and social scientists exploring patterns of drug abuse, race relations and other issues.

Other polls are more local and may be closely allied with state governments, providing legislators with opinion data and calling the quarter, half and stretch positions of local political horse races.

Mixed Motives

While all these colleges acknowledge that publicity is a nice byproduct, school officials cite academic motives for getting involved with polling. "I was teaching a class in political parties and voting behavior and a student suggested that maybe we should do a poll," Mr. Meringoff said. "We organized 100 students to conduct an exit poll of Dutchess County and we accurately predicted the county executive's race."

Manhattanville started its poll to engage students with the surrounding community, said Richard A. Berman, its president. But the school did not mind that a poll might regain some of the fame Manhattanville enjoyed when it was known as the alma mater of Rose and Ethel Kennedy. So last year it sampled Westchester voters about the race for county executive and this year moved on to races for Governor and United States Senator.

"We'd be crazy to say it hasn't increased visibility," Mr. Berman said.

The advent of cheap powerful computers in the 1980's and the increasing reliability of telephone interviews have made polling relatively inexpensive, said Janice Ballou, director of polling at the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University in New Jersey. For colleges, students often provide a ready source of cheap labor. Quinnipiac employs 120 students at \$6.50 an hour.

Quinnipiac, a 70-year-old private college specializing in business, health and communications, started polls seven years ago covering politics in Connecticut, New York and New Jersey. But the school has lately branched out into more attention-getting topics, finding recently that New Yorkers support school uniforms by a 69-to-25 margin.

One thing pollsters cannot say with precision is how many students apply because they first heard about Quinnipiac or Marist through a published poll. "I haven't seen a poll on the impact of polls on the ability to attract students," Mr. Gawiser said.



and scores of others have discovered that polling people for views on political candidates, abortion or more whimsical topics is helping them stand out in the middle of 5,500 colleges scrambling for applicants.

Cultivating that niche performs an academic function, of course, by training students to gather and analyze the raw numbers needed in careers like journalism, political science and marketing. But polls also get a college's name in newspapers and on television.

Lee M. Meringoff, director of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion, recalls that when he began polling in 1978 people would confuse his college with the Yankee ballplayer who holds the season record for home runs. "Now we don't have to spell Marist and we don't have to spell Poughkeepsie," he said.

There are more than 100 colleges that poll or do in-depth surveys, said Sheldon R.

Wins of the Father Help the Son

Continued from page 9

a way of saying to the voters, 'No, you're not voting for the old man, you're voting for the son.' It is a clear adjustment. We're trying to get as accurate a gauge as we can."

The Gallup poll identifies Mr. Bush as "Texas Gov. George W. Bush," while the Harris Poll refers to him as Bush Jr., the Governor of Texas. The chairman of the Harris Poll, Humphrey Taylor, argued that was enough. He said his polling showed growing support for Mr. Bush and that such a trend shows that voters are familiar with him. (He was the choice of 7 percent of Republican respondents in January 1997, and 13 percent this past February).

But the practice of giving Mr. Bush a title in polls raises another problem: It confers a hint of prestige that other candidates identified only by name do not have. Lamar Alexander, for example, is the former Governor of Tennessee, but pollsters never call him "Governor Alexander." Thus, pollsters worry, a technique used to blunt one advantage Mr. Bush enjoys with voters might simply give him another.

There is already hard evidence that at this early stage of the campaign voters do not know the difference between two career politicians from Texas who look and sound like, well, father and son.

A New York Times poll conducted from

Pollsters struggle to avoid making self-fulfilling prophecies.

May 19 to May 21 asked respondents their opinion of "several members of the Bush family, starting with the former President." President Bush is held in high esteem: 73 percent of the registered voters in the poll had an opinion of George Bush, and 68 percent of them regarded him favorably.

George Who?

The question then moved to Barbara Bush before settling on the son, who was identified both as "George W. Bush" and "Texas Gov. George W. Bush." In this sequence of questioning, more than 70 percent of respondents had no opinion, positive or negative, of Mr. Bush the Governor. That is in line with what pollsters expect for someone who has never run for President before, and it calls seriously into question the accuracy of other polls that show him leading the Presidential race.

William D. McInturff, a Republican pollster, said his firm identified Mr. Bush as the

Governor of Texas in some experimental polling earlier this year. But if he works on the 2000 race, he said, he would adjust his procedures for a more accurate measurement of the Governor's standing.

"If we were doing this for real," Mr. McInturff said, "and there was real money at stake, we would ask people after they pick him, 'Can you tell me a little bit about what you know about him?' so you could see what percent are talking about the former President."

Republican voters are more likely to know the difference between the two Bushes, and Mr. Bush's opponents will certainly do all they can to help voters distinguish the governor from his father once the race begins in earnest. But there is also a cynical view of the uses of confusion: that voters who are confused with pollsters now will remain confused when it comes time to vote. From that perspective, the polls today are entirely correct even if the voters are entirely wrong.

"It's going to take a long time to sort this one out," said Stephen Hess, the Presidential scholar. "There's no way you can do it with showing each respondent a picture of George Herbert Walker Bush and a picture of George W. Bush and saying which one are you for?"

Mr. Hess sighed. "I don't know what they can do. We're just going to have to live with this one."



George Herbert Walker Bush, left, piloted a boat with his son, George W., at his side during a vacation in Maine in 1989.

The World

West Africa Trembles With Nigeria

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

THERE was something more than faintly American about the first speech of Nigeria's new military head of state, following the sudden death on Monday of the country's iron-fisted President, Gen. Sani Abacha.

Much as a new President of the remaining superpower might, upon taking office after the unexpected death of an American leader, Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar hammered away at the theme of unshaken adherence to his country's "international commitments." He sought to comfort allies and serve notice of Nigeria's resolve to potential foes.

And as could be expected upon the death of an American President, General Abacha's death unleashed a flood of eulogies praising his immense qualities as a statesman. Fittingly, after the death of the leader of a great country, no fewer than seven African heads of state rushed to pay their respects.

From Senegal to Gabon, the late general's peers spoke glowingly of a man devoted "body and soul to his country," or solemnly regretted the passing of one of "Africa's most illustrious sons." None even hinted that Nigeria is arguably in worse shape economically than at any time since independence from Britain in 1960, that there have never been more political prisoners, that high-level corruption had never been so brazen, or that outside Africa, General Abacha was often dismissed as just another despot plundering an unfortunate citizenry.

Ripples of Concern

In his own his country, where General Abacha was loathed far more than admired, many Nigerians undoubtedly scratched their heads in puzzlement over this seeming hypocrisy. But the point that those who disapproved were missing is that for much of Africa, any political transition in the continent's most populous, most complicated and arguably most fractious country — especially one as unexpected as General Abacha's sudden death by reported heart attack — is a cause for major concern far beyond Nigeria's own borders.

South Africa and Egypt may have more powerful armies, but no African country is more involved in the security arrangements of its surrounding region than Nigeria. South Africa may have a higher level of industrialization, and tiny oil states like Libya and Gabon much higher per capita incomes, but no African country's economic health is more vital to its neighbors.

Oil-rich Nigeria can submerge its neighbors in its economic woes or float them when it is flush. Beyond that, as the world's seventh-largest oil producer and the United States' biggest trading partner on the continent, it



In 1996, Nigerian soldiers helped keep peace in Liberia. These protected a Lebanese businessman at his shop.

is perhaps the only African country whose sudden disappearance from the map would cause more than a moment's ripple in international markets.

The American Secretary of State, Madeleine K. Albright, has often spoken of the United States as the world's one "essential nation." But in West Africa, such is the weight of Nigeria, with its 105 million people, large military forces and hyperactive foreign policy that many would quibble with America's self-designation.

Just ask Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, the democratically elected President of Sierra Leone, a country 1,000 miles to the west of Nigeria, who was overthrown in a coup 13 months ago by a combination of renegade soldiers and rural rebels who invaded the capital, Freetown, looting and burning all in their path.

Washington quickly sent the Marines to evacuate Western residents, saving them from the mayhem but doing nothing to relieve the country's distress. The United Nations, likewise, took no action. The only country that proved willing and able to help put out the flames was Nigeria.

General Abacha sent warships to blockade the rebels, starving their economy, and airplanes to bomb the

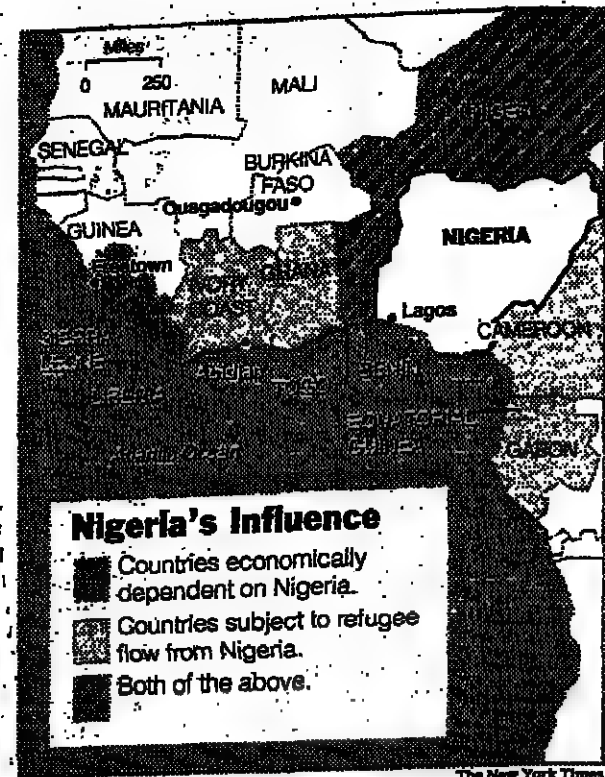
insurrectionists' positions. When all of that didn't suffice, he mounted an intervention by land, losing dozens of soldiers but succeeding in the goal of restoring order — and, by the way, President Kabbah.

Sierra Leone's President showed his gratitude by suspending his attendance at the annual Organization of African Unity summit in Ouagadougou to fly to Nigeria within hours of the news of General Abacha's death; there he expressed condolences and, one imagines, sought security assurances from the new team in charge.

Fears of Chaos

"There is going to be no change in the foreign policy of Nigeria, because like no one else, at the center of Nigerian policy stands Africa, and that will never change," the bluff commander of Nigerian forces in Sierra Leone, Brig. Gen. Maxwell Kibbe, said in an interview. "When there is trouble in our region, we will be there, because to go absent would mean letting the fire spread."

But for all of Nigeria's can-do interventionism in Sierra Leone, and a previous successful, if drawn out,



peace-keeping effort in Liberia, the warm words for General Abacha and his nation were motivated not only by gratitude for Nigeria's contributions to regional security.

Just as central in the minds of other regional leaders as they mourned the dictator's passing was the possibility of Nigeria's disintegration amid an anti-military uprising, revived regional tensions and ethnic hatreds. Seen from this angle, Nigeria more resembled another recent superpower, the crumbling and potentially dangerous Soviet Union, than it did a triumphant United States.

Few African countries have experienced anything like the devastation of the Nigerian civil war at the close of the 1960's, which began with a secession bid by the oil-rich southeast. And, as that conflict showed clearly, no other country on the continent has anything like the ability to inundate its neighbors with refugees.

General Abacha may deserve some of the posthumous accolades being given to him by his fellows as a great statesman, pan-Africanist or nationalist, but no leader before him left power with his country in a more degraded and potentially explosive state. Indeed, before an officially declared week of mourning was half over, angry protesters, readily citing the recent example of "people's power" in Indonesia, were facing off with soldiers in the streets of Nigeria's capital, Lagos.

Ghana's President, Jerry Rawlings, a former soldier who himself twice took power in coups after uprisings and was only later elected as a civilian, was one of the few African statesmen to speak candidly last week about the downside of General Abacha's legacy: a fractured and volatile nation.

"Let's say a prayer for Nigeria," Mr. Rawlings said in an interview with the BBC, minutes after learning of General Abacha's death. "For the commanders and the politicians not to do anything that could cause the disintegration of Nigeria, which would take us all downhill."

Camera Angles

What China Sees in Clinton

By SETH FAISON

THE Chinese have an old saying, describing donkey dung, that pokes fun at their culture's obsession with appearances: "Shiny on the outside, smelly within."

Looking good is important, in other words, even when a situation is imperfect.

President Clinton's visit to China, scheduled to begin June 25, is likely to be about appearances more than anything else. No real diplomatic breakthrough looks possible, since the United States and China remain far apart on key issues like Taiwan and human rights. With the Clinton Administration extra sensitive to recent accusations that it sold out national security for business interests, no big commercial deals are likely to be showcased either.

Showtime

That's fine with China's leaders, who care about appearances above all. Even without substance, the first visit by an American President since the 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square is tremendously important to Communist Party bosses in Beijing, largely for the way it symbolizes approval of their rule. Playing host to the President of the United States, and doing it well, shores up the legitimacy of Chinese leaders before their own people.

For this reason, some of China's critics in Washington have called on Mr. Clinton to avoid, at the very least, participating in a welcoming ceremony in Tiananmen Square — the traditional red-carpet welcome that Beijing insists upon. Many members of Congress argue that China should be punished for its abysmal record on human rights and arms proliferation. In response, Mr. Clinton made the case last week that sticking to a policy of cooperation and engagement with China offers more reward than risk.

But both sides of this debate gloss over the larger and far more important reality: contacts between the two countries are now primarily characterized by a deeply enmeshed commercial relationship — not to mention an array of educational and cultural exchanges — that leaves the two governments to play a steadily smaller and less significant role.

In 1972, President Nixon's visit to China was critically important to any Chinese or American citizen who wanted to do business or even travel between the two countries. In



A poster for a Clinton scandal book banned in China last week.

1998, whether or not President Clinton travels to China will have little noticeable effect on the billions of dollars of goods now traded in each direction, or on the hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Americans who travel between the two countries to work, study and teach. To them, President Clinton's visit represents little more than an affirmation of an economic reality that is streaking far ahead of politics.

The countless Chinese consumers who sip Coca-Cola and wear Motorola pagers reflect the commercial ties between China and the United States that are here to stay, no matter what Congress or the White House has to say. Even if the United States were to revoke China's normal or "most favored nation" trading status — a step no Administration has taken since it was first granted in 1980 — the only effect would be higher American tariffs on some Chinese exports, while American sales within China would no doubt continue to roar ahead.

Smile

With this economic reality as the backdrop, and with Mr. Clinton's visit concerned with gloss over substance, he and his Chinese hosts next week will likely concentrate on camera angles.

The ideal, for Chinese leaders, is a seamless cascade of televised images showing Mr. Clinton in one picturesque Chinese setting after another, alternately wowed by the majesty of the Great Wall and charmed by the humble kindness of villagers — and, most important, standing shoulder to shoulder with President Jiang Zemin, as they look out on the world as equals.

The nightmare, in the Chinese view, would be an unexpected disruption of Mr. Clinton's trip by political dissidents. That could be interpreted by the Chinese people as an

embarrassing sign that their leaders are not in control.

That nightmare actually occurred when President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union visited China in May 1989. Student demonstrations engulfed Beijing in the weeks before his arrival, and during his five-day visit protests spread to cities throughout the nation. It wasn't until weeks later that the democratic clamorings were brutally subdued.

Both dissidents and the authorities are mindful of the Gorbachev experience. Dissidents in China know that when a major foreign leader comes to town, the authorities are loath to crack heads in public, making it a good time to get out a message. And the authorities know they know. So China's security services are now working overtime to snuff out any flicker of dissidence well before Mr. Clinton's arrival.

Such repression and the overall importance that China's leaders attach to the Clinton visit are measures of how insecure they are, not only regarding their own authority, but also regarding China's place in the world. China plays an odd role on the world stage, wielding veto power at the United Nations in a way that the West generally views as responsible, even as Beijing is having a hard time shedding its reputation as a rogue inclined to irresponsibly traffic in arms and missile technology.

China's ambiguous international stature may reflect a deeper conflict in its sense of itself. Despite the nation's size and growing economic power, its leaders mix an ancient sense of superiority with a more modern realization that China is inferior to most of the world in terms of wealth and technology.

Mr. Clinton's visit is indeed largely symbolic. But looking good is important when the situation is imperfect.

The Latest War Crime

(Continued from page 9)

nations of the world to organize effectively to prevent and punish crimes against humanity, a monumental task that moves into new territory tomorrow with the opening of a treaty conference in Rome to create the world's first international criminal court. Largely because of the systematic use of sexual assault in ethnic wars in the Balkans and Rwanda, the court is expected to rank rape as an internationally recognized war crime for the first time in history, alongside violence against noncombatants, mistreatment of prisoners, torture and other unusual punishments.

The Rape Camps

Widney Brown, an advocate with the women's rights division of Human Rights Watch, echoed other experts when she said that rape "has probably been an issue in every major conflict, but what happened in Bosnia, particularly with the creation of the rape camps, really brought it to light." In the Balkans, where soldiers of every faction were accused of rape, the discovery of areas where Serbian soldiers confined Bosnian Muslim women to be raped shocked many. "In Yugoslavia rape was a part of ethnic cleansing, because the message that you got was if you stayed, the men would be murdered and the women would be raped," Ms. Brown said.

"That was followed very quickly by what happened in Rwanda, where we have similar widespread allegations of rape and mutilation," she added. "In fact, part of the preliminary campaign that created the atmosphere that allowed the genocide to happen was the demonization of Tutsi women as oversexualized creatures who were seductresses. It's not surprising that during the conflict they were subjected to rape, and a lot of sexual mutilation. Mutilation is another way of saying, 'We don't perceive of this person as a human being.'"

For about five years now, ad hoc tribunals have been hearing allegations of war crimes, first in the Balkans and later in Rwanda, and these tribunals have already decided to consider rape a war crime in those conflicts. Since they have been serving as small-scale models for the permanent international court that is just being formed, that court is expected to follow suit.

"These tribunals were literally forced to pay attention to a series of petitions and pressures from women's organizations demanding that rape be recognized," said Felice Gaer, an expert on human rights and international organizations for the American Jewish Committee. Ms. Gaer said that ultimately the support of Justice Richard Goldstone, the

first war crimes prosecutor for the Balkans and Rwanda, succeeded in elevating sex crimes to the level of genocide and crimes against humanity. This was the first step taken by nations trying to tackle collectively this new scourge of war. But women are drawing up a longer list of gender-related crimes in wartime, and promise a battle to have them recognized by the International Criminal Court.

Ken Franzblau, who tracks the sexual exploitation of women for Equality Now, a New York-based organization that aids women in poor nations and immigrant women here, said rape is so widespread now because it is so effective in ethnic wars.

"It has such devastating effects on communities, particularly in traditional societies or very religious communities where the virginity and the fidelity of women can be central to the makeup of that society," he said. Rape is a psychological grenade thrown into the middle of daily life to provoke maximum terror. "That's why you see a fair number of these rapes committed in front of family members of the girls or women involved," he said.

Some analysts believe that the fast pace of international communications today may be a factor in the rapid recurrence of the use of rape as a tactic of war in such widely separate parts of the world. But if that is true, it is also evident that rapid international communication has played a role in stirring international outrage about the tactic.

Over the last decade, there have been significant changes among the vulnerable women themselves. Women who were the victims of sexual abuse in the name of ethnic purity, nationalism and sometimes religious zeal have begun to speak out, often aided by human rights organizations and women's crisis centers. For many, this has been a revolutionary change.

Beyond Suicide

"Lots of women just committed suicide in the past," said Charlotte Bunch executive director of the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers. "That's one very clear thing that's beginning to emerge now. In this decade, the outrage that women have been able to raise about the issue means that people are reporting it. But the truth is that there is also a backlash about women speaking out. There may be some moments before we reach a point where there is enough outrage to get the phenomenon under control."

The phenomenon takes human form in a number of recent accounts reported by journalists. Take the story of Nawal Fathi, who was captured by militants in Algeria in 1996, made into a sex slave and raped by a score of men before being rescued by

government troops. A psychiatrist who treated her said that despite a year of medical treatment, Ms. Fathi committed suicide at the age of 24 last year.

In Jakarta, aid workers were quoted last week as saying that hundreds of ethnic Chinese women had been sexually assaulted during the looting of Chinese neighborhoods, apparently by organized gangs that may have had links to security forces. "Some of the attackers said, 'You must be raped because you are Chinese and non-Muslim,'" one woman recalled. Again, a number of women have killed themselves rather than live in shame.

Outside Religion

Although militants in Algeria and roving gangs of rapists in Indonesia are Muslims, the phenomenon is probably not related to religion, though radical religious views may provide justification to an elemental misogyny. The Taliban movement in Afghanistan, for example, has repressed women but its holy warriors have not abused them sexually, as their predecessors in the Mujahideen armies were frequently accused of doing. Afghan women say: Roman Catholics butchered other Roman Catholics in Rwanda and Burundi. Sex slaves are also a hallmark of the vaguely evangelical Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. Burmese troops in Myanmar, a Buddhist country, are accused in a new report from the human-rights group EARTHRIGHTS of using rape as a weapon against women from 20 or more ethnic minorities or student groups that oppose the military regime.

Because women displaced by ethnic warfare or other forms of mass violence are often not safe even in refugee camps — or arrive there pregnant through rape — United Nations relief agencies and some private groups have begun to offer gynecological services and the "morning after" pill, which prevents conception. Although this practice has been sharply criticized by anti-abortion groups in the United States, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, and others have continued to provide help to abused women.

At Equality Now, Mr. Franzblau said the kind of sexual abuse that took place in Bosnia, where Serb rapes of Muslim women were numerous and intense personal hatred was directed at an enemy gun emplacement, makes the impact much worse and stokes the fires for the next round of strife.

"That's why it is going to be very difficult to reconcile these communities," he said. "How can you move families back to homes where a mother or daughter or sister was raped by a next-door neighbor?"

السلامة

ECONOMY

It's a Joy Ride, So far, in Euroland

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

AFTER a bout of winter blues that has dragged on for much of the last decade, European business has finally come back to life.

The best evidence is in the Continent's stock markets. From Spain to Germany, market indexes have outpaced those in the United States, with some climbing a third or more in just the last six months.

But the boom in Europe is more than a bull market. Europe is going through at least four historic financial transformations — each of which is likely to alter the investment landscape for years to come, all of them likely to benefit investors.

CURRENCY UNION On Jan. 1, some 11 nations led by France and Germany will adopt the euro as a common currency, creating a unified economic entity almost as big as the United States. The euro looms behind every other major trend in Europe, accelerating the broad movement toward greater competition and free-market capitalism.

ECONOMIC CONVERGENCE For the first time this century, interest rates and inflation are now almost as low in Spain and Italy as they are in Germany. Thanks largely to the stringent economic requirements for joining the "euro club," governments across the Continent sharply reduced budget deficits and yoked themselves to austere monetary policies. Now the reward is at hand, in the form of faster growth and stable prices.

CORPORATE OVERHAUL Under growing competitive pressure worldwide, European conglomerates are embracing Wall Street's priorities: profits and the concept of "shareholder value." Companies that once were opaque to many investors are now listing their shares in New York and opening up their books. They are also slashing costs, selling off businesses that do not perform and merging like mad to shore up the rest.

The revamping has cost millions of European workers their jobs, and companies are still not as profitable, on average, as their American counterparts.

terparts. But the renewed strength is measurable.

A STAMPEDE TOWARD STOCKS Perhaps the most profound change is the surge in equity investing by individual Europeans. As recently as two years ago, Europeans avoided stocks in favor of cautious securities like government bonds. Now they are flooding the stock markets with tens of billions of dollars, and most analysts expect the torrent to become even bigger in the next few years.

Analysts say the deluge has been driven by two big changes. One is lower interest rates, which have eroded returns on bonds. The second is the growing weakness in government-run pension programs, which are amassing mountains of commitments without the means to honor them. The result is a rush to mutual funds and a political trend toward promoting American-style private pension funds, which in turn become huge buyers of equities.

"You are looking at a set of circumstances that occur only a few times a century," said Phil De Cristo, head of operations in Continental Europe for Fidelity Investments. "We look at Europe as being our prime engine of growth over the next five years."

None of that means that Europe is a safe bet. For one thing, prices have climbed so far, so fast, that some markets may already be dangerously overvalued. For another, though most experts are increasingly confident that the new European Central Bank will establish stability and credibility for the euro, there is still ample room for problems.

But European economic prospects are better than they have been in years. Total economic growth should reach 3 percent this year, possibly outpacing growth in the United States.

"If you combine the prospects for economic growth, low budget deficits, low or negligible inflation and low interest rates, you have an economic proposition that is almost embarrassingly rich," said George Hodgson, head of equity research at the Dutch bank ABN-Amro.

Here Comes the Euro

Though the debut of the euro next year will have little direct impact on Europe's growth and prosperity, the

preparations have had a huge effect on governments, companies and investors.

European political leaders reached the point of no return on May 3, when they formally decided to introduce the euro on Jan. 1 as the currency of 11 countries: Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Finland.

Britain, Denmark and Sweden decided to stay out of the monetary union, though they met the qualifications to join. Greece was the only member of the European Union that could not meet the standards, and it hopes to join in several years.

The euro has already transformed economic policy across the Continent, as governments slashed budget deficits and generous social programs. In the process, inflation was nearly eliminated in historically turbulent countries like Spain, Italy and Portugal. Interest rates in these so-called "Club Med" countries have plunged by half in just two years. Not surprisingly, stock markets in Madrid, Lisbon and Milan have soared faster than almost any others in Europe in the last year.

The advent of the euro also promises to alter profoundly Europe's capital markets. Though the actual bills and coins will not begin to circulate until 2002, stocks and bonds will be traded in euros on Jan. 1. In effect, that creates a huge new European market for stocks and bonds that could eventually rival Wall Street in global importance.

"With the European Union, what we are talking about is redefining the idea of a home market," said Mr. De Cristo of Fidelity. "You are creating a massive new entity, which is Europe or Euroland."

For corporations trying to raise capital, that is both good and bad news. On the one hand, it makes it easier to tap a much bigger pool of potential investors. But it also exposes them to bruising new international comparisons.

According to Salomon Smith Barney, for example, the average return on equity for Italian companies was about 9.9 percent last year. By contrast, German companies earned about 12 percent and Finnish companies earned nearly 21 percent. (In the United States, return on equity averaged about 20 percent.)

A Scramble for Position

Competition is also heating up in the real world, the market for goods and services. Even though the European Union already permits almost entirely free trade between member nations, the babble of different currencies continues to cloak price differences between identical products in different markets. In Germany, a cottage industry of automobile "re-importers" buys up Mercedeses and Volkswagens in neighboring countries and then re-sells them to Germans at prices lower than those of German car dealers.

In the new Europe, the camouflage disappears and price pressures are expected to increase. "The single currency will put pressure on manufacturers," acknowledged Manfred Gentz, the chief financial officer of BMWer-Benz. "But the benefits far outweigh the disadvantages, and that kind of competition is healthy any way."

It had better be, because the scramble for position in the pan-European market has contributed to an accelerated pace of mergers and acquisitions. Daimler-Benz's stunning deal to take over the Chrysler Corporation, the third-largest American auto maker, was merely the most visible of many huge deals, others of which have involved European banks, retailers, chemical companies and steel producers. In dollars, the value of European mergers jumped to \$484 billion in 1997, from about \$170 billion in 1994.

"The whole philosophy behind the single market was to enable European companies to enjoy the same economies of scale that companies in the United States and Japan were perceived to enjoy," said Mark Howdie, head of European equity strategy at Salomon Smith Barney.

When they are not merging, Europe's industrial conglomerates have become increasingly preoccupied with improving their performance. One example: Royal Philips

Electronics, the Dutch manufacturer of consumer electronics, saw profits nearly evaporate two years ago as a result of several flopped products and a disastrous alliance with Grundig A.G., the troubled German manufacturer. After severing ties to Grundig and cutting 6,000 jobs, Philips has bounced back with high profits and a soaring stock price.

While individual stories do not add up to a trend, there are broader signs of improvement. Excluding Britain, Europe has seen corporate return on equity climb to more than 14 percent in 1998, from about 11 percent in 1996, according to Salomon Smith Barney.

But that remains well behind performance in the United States, and pessimists interpret the numbers to mean that Continental Europe remains shy about serious revamping.

Optimists, though, see the data as evidence that European companies still have much opportunity for rapid increases in profitability. "The party is only beginning," said Mr. Hodgson.

Winning Fabulous Prizes

"We call it the Stock Market Game, but we take it very seriously," said Peter Nemec, host and producer of "3 Sar Börse," Germany's most popular television show for investors. A lot of other people take it seriously, too.

Every Friday night over a six-month period, three investment advisers compete on Mr. Nemec's show, offering their best stock picks. Each adviser is given an imaginary pot of 100,000 German marks, and the one whose pot is biggest at the end of six months wins the game.

Once upon a time, few people were interested. But today, as many as a million viewers tune in. And when contestants tout their newest favorites, traders say, those stocks routinely surge on Monday morning.

"The public has finally discovered stocks," exulted Mr. Nemec, who could barely scrape together 100,000 viewers when he started in 1988. "When I go to shopping on Saturdays, the shopkeepers recognize me and start asking me what stocks they should buy."

It is difficult to overstate the change in mind-set among investors in Germany, and, indeed, across most of Continental Europe. European investors who till recently favored the safety of bonds are a key force behind the bull market. Last year, they poured more than \$70 billion into stock-oriented mutual funds, up from just \$10 billion in 1996. In Italy, where interest rates have plunged by more than half in the last year, \$7 billion flowed into stock funds in April alone. Spanish investors have been on a similar rampage.

In Germany, private households have more than doubled their stock holdings in the last three years, to about \$300 billion. When Deutsche Bank started a new mutual fund for small European stocks last April, investors contributed more than \$300 million in the first few days.

Such lemming-like behavior often is observed in overripe markets. And Europe's mobilization of money does not necessarily mean that its markets will continue to soar.

"Liquidity can be a dangerous animal," Mr. Hodgson said. After all, in an electronic marketplace where trillions of dollars move around the world every day, mutual fund and pension managers routinely redirect their money when conditions change.

"European valuations look very rich," said David Bowers, an equity strategist for Merrill Lynch in London. "There isn't much room for disappointment."

But there are echoes in Europe's boom that make many investors take heart. The flood of money, they say, is reminiscent of what happened in the United States during the early 1980's, when inflation finally subsided and the bull market began to take off.

"People who have gotten along on gilt-edged bonds suddenly realize that they have to get their returns up," said Jonathan Freeman, an investment banker at Beeson Gregory, a London-based stock brokerage firm. "It is a new game for a lot of people, but I think you are going to see it for a long time."



Irwin L. Jacobs is selling shares in luxury yachts.

A Yacht, All Yours, Part Time

PETER FASSELL

THE two best days with a yacht are the day you buy it and the day you sell it," lamented Steven Sands, the co-chairman of Sands Brothers, a New York investment bank.

Eugene Melnyk, the chairman of Biovail Pharmaceuticals in Toronto, shares Mr. Sands's ambivalence. "Owning a big boat," he grouched, "is like owning a second business."

But help for both, and for others who can live neither with their yachts nor without them, may be on the way. And it is coming from an unlikely source: Irwin L. Jacobs, the 1980's corporate raider known as "Irv the Liquidator" for his habit of acquiring ailing companies and playing musical chairs with the assets.

Well, perhaps it is not so unlikely. When the game ended, Mr. Jacobs's portfolio included a dozen boat manufacturers, including Hatteras, the high-end yacht maker in New Bern, N.C. With fewer opportunities for slicing and dicing corporations, he put his restless mind to marketing their products — notably, the million-dollar-plus behemoths turned out by Hatteras.

"When I asked people at boat shows why they didn't own yachts," Mr. Jacobs explained, "price was an issue, but so was the hassle factor."

Mr. Jacobs went looking for a solution to both problems.

Hardly anybody wants to spend more than a few months a year aboard a yacht, he reasoned. And hardly anybody with realistic aspirations of owning an ocean-going trophy has the time or inclination to tend to the details of keeping it provisioned and shipshape.

The solution: Yachtscape, a partial-ownership program in which access to a super-luxe, fully equipped Hatteras yacht is divided into thirds, while a management company handles everything from providing the crews to catering the cocktail parties to finding the perfect beach for sunbathing in the buff.

Indeed, the managers' job is part mundane maintenance, part European-style concierge service in which no client's wish is beyond reach. "We're not just selling a boat; we're selling a life style," said Mr. Jacobs, testing his sales pitch.

Yachtscape's first two fiberglass beauties from Hatteras, the 74-foot Courageous with five bedrooms and the 65-foot Vigilant with four, are now on the block. Each of the three shares in the Courageous costs \$1 million, or a third of what a single owner would pay for the boat. For this, plus an annual fee of \$259,000, each part-owner is entitled to six 14-day cruises annually, which would keep the boat in use a total of 36 weeks a year.

The remaining 113 days are reserved for maintenance, weather-related downtime and the scheduling convenience of the owners. With this many days of slack, potential conflicts over the use of the yacht at holidays should be minimized.

Paying operating fees that are

more than \$3,000 a day, the owners of Courageous will presumably expect a lot, and Yachtscape aims to exceed their expectations. Everything needed to operate the boat — a crew of two and back-up personnel, insurance, dockage fees and full maintenance — is included. "If a critical part breaks while the boat is cruising the coast of Siberia, we'll have a replacement there within 24 hours," Mr. Jacobs said.

A tour of Courageous, docked recently at Manhattan's Chelsea Piers, confirmed that clients needn't fear for their comfort, either. The yacht is exceptionally well appointed, with glitzy bathrooms attached to every bedroom, satellite TV's and telephones scattered about the living quarters like confetti.

The décor is Beverly Hills contemporary, with surfaces covered in natural fibers, mirrors, Hatteras's signature blonde-maple paneling — or, in the case of the galley counters, granite. An inflatable outboard runabout and a Sea-Doo personal watercraft grace the rear deck.

"In short, everything is included except food and fuel," said Ralph Vick, the managing director of Yachtscape, who earned his spurs indulging the whims of the well-heeled while working for the Ritz-Carlton hotel chain.

Of course, the three owners of Courageous will be masters of their domain only for discrete periods of the year. But management will swim the last lap to minimize the sense of sharing. Each owner will have separate sets of bed and bath linens. Each owner's clothes and accessories will be stored between cruises.

Kenneth Cancellara, the general counsel of Biovail, is "98 percent sure" he will buy a share of Courageous and expects to use the boat with friends and family. Mr. Melnyk, who is close to signing on for his own piece of the yacht, will probably mix business with pleasure.

But Mr. Sands, the investment banker, sees the boat primarily as a capitalist tool. "We're constantly entertaining, bringing together securities issuers and institutional buyers," he said.

Indeed, Mr. Jacobs envisions a big corporate market for share ownership, with buyers using cruises to reward star employees and stroke clients. "A yacht cruise is the ultimate perk," he said.

And what if the partial ownership experience soured — or if an owner decides to renounce his wealth and enter a monastery? Yachtscape stands ready to buy back shares for half the purchase price after 35 months. Probably more relevant, it will serve as a broker, finding buyers for orphaned shares for a predetermined commission.

Mr. Jacobs does not expect it to come to that very often. Indeed, he is projecting sales of an extra 50 yachts a year — Hatteras now builds about 100 — to satisfy the new market.

What is the biggest boat he is prepared to sell in pieces? If the demand is there, Mr. Jacobs said, Hatteras can provide 130-footers.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actives World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT index is compiled by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, Inc. in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURR.				
	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Australia	177.75	-4.2	9	-11.2	21	3.38	199.24	-2.5		
Brazil	212.2	-7.1	21	-10.9	20	227	451.42	-7.9		
Britain	371.98	-3.1	8	-12.1	14	2.93	388.06	+13.1		
Canada	251.78	-2.8	7	-10.1	15	1.82	246.34	+11.3		
France	413.04	-5.0	14	-48.3	1	1.82	475.44	+4.4		
Germany	318.04	-3.2	15	-32.9	5	1.85	301.85	-3.7		
Hong Kong	296.65	-2.7	8	-28.0	7	1.20	277.34	-2.3		
India	231.89	-8.1	35	-35.0	28	6.83	230.72	-35.0		
Indonesia	128.09	-13.5	29	-57.5	28	2.91	240.35	-7.9		
Italy	158.40	-6.3	18	-35.3	3	1.32	211.55	-3.2		
Japan	105.02	-5.2	16	-10.3	19	1.02	107.50	-1.0		
Malaysia	127.28	-8.4	22	-22.6	22	3.24	196.58	-20.2		
Mexico	127.58	-10.5	27	-24.4	24	1.85	131.4321	-17.3		
Netherlands	504.69	-4.2	10	-23.1	10	1.97	488.50	-23.5		
New Zealand	57.86	-8.2	26	-24.5	28	4.38	601.08	-12.5		
Philippines	78.03	-8.9	25	-11.8	18	1.32	157.89	0.1		
Singapore	143.16	-8.9	25	-36.4	27	2.64	115.15	-34.1		
South Africa	244.37	-12.5	28	-7.9	18	3.04	253.87	0.5		
Spain	367.30	-4.5	19	-35.4	4	1.79	426.83	-35.0		
Sweden	580.13	-4.5	12	-23.6	6	1.71	586.30	-24.4		
Switzerland	613.68	-18.3	30	-29.1	25	11.63	623.10	-36.0		
Thailand	448.48	-1.3	4	18.1	13	1.44	448.46	-13.1		
United States										

COMPOSITE INDICES

	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	
Europe	351.82	-4.0	21.5	2.01	335.84	22.5
Pacific Basin	90.87	-5.5	-14.2	1.81	83.2	-5.9
Europe/Pacific	198.55	-4.4	9.5	1.95	178.39	12.9
World	281.54	-2.9	10.9	1.89	280.90	12.5

Sources: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1998 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

CURRENCIES

Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	144.72	138.75	+4.36	114.86
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.8056	1.7745	+1.75	173.80
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.4630	1.4577	+0.36	138.15
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.824	1.8353	-0.18	1.8590

Sources: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close

UPS AND DOWNS

June 8-12: A Sinking Yen Drags Down Stocks; Rosy Price Outlook Buys Bonds

PRICES

DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market S&P 500 index	Down 1.35%	1,098.84
Blue chips Dow 30 Industrials	Down 2.24%	8,834.94
Small capitalization Russell 200 Index	Down 2.78%	441.59

DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries Ryan Labs. total return	Up 1.02%	221.75
Municipals Bond Buyer Index	Up 0.69%	124.88
Corporates Merrill Lynch master index	Up 0.97%	877.56

AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks FT Actives Europe	Down 3.97%	351.65
Asian stocks FT Actives Pacific Basin	Down 5.54%	90.87
Gold	Down 1.34%	\$287.30

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms.

YIELDS

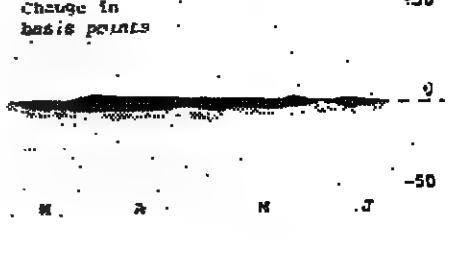
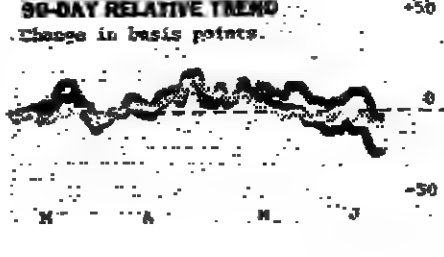
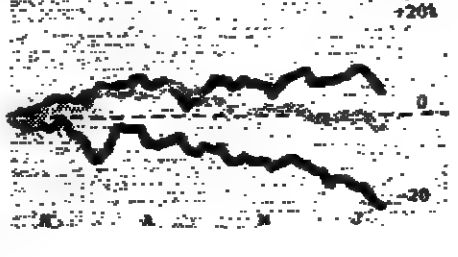
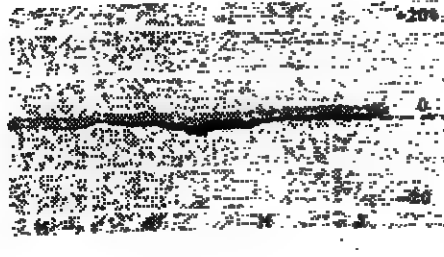
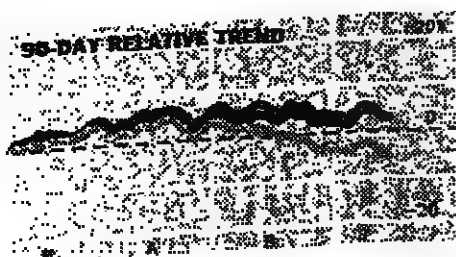
BONDS

Long bonds	5.66%
30-year Treasuries	down 12 basis points
Notes	5.43%
82-year Treasuries	down 14 basis points
Municipals	5.18%
Bond Buyer index	down 4 basis points

100 basis points = 1 percentage point

OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	4.99%
Taxable average	down 3 basis points
Bank C.D.'s	4.97%
1-year small savers	unchanged
Stocks S&P 500 dividend yield	1.46%
	up 2 b.p.



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Race, Memory and Justice

It was just a year ago today that Bill Clinton looked out on a field of black caps and tassels — and of upturned white, yellow, tan and black young faces — at the University of California at San Diego and called for the nation to engage in “a great and unprecedented conversation about race.” He was a President pining for a legacy, and race had been the special burden and pain of his South. The resistance to integration in Little Rock, and the later murders of such black men as Vernon Dahmer in Mississippi, had repulsed him as a boy and young man.

The President announced an advisory board that Saturday, gave himself a year to affect the attitude of the country and promised a report to the American people. That deadline, and the dialogue, have long since drifted. Hampered by a White House that was well intentioned but wary of ugly confrontations, the full seven-member panel never met as a body in the Deep South or in the hard black ghettos of the urban North. The President led some of its town meetings, but the people who came to talk in such places as Denver, Phoenix and San Jose tended to be civic activists. The bulk of Americans — those complacent about racism or indifferent to it — stayed home, as did the real racists.

Then, a week ago, some twisted people issued a report of their own. They took a 48-year-old black man named James Byrd Jr. for a ride in the small town of Jasper, Tex. There they beat him senseless, chained him to the rear bumper and dragged him to his death, severing his head and an arm in the process.

There are many levels of racism in a culture. Mr. Clinton introduced his “Initiative on Race and Reconciliation” on a California campus because that state had become a battleground over the public policy of affirmative action, which the voters had just decided to abandon. Already, as he spoke that day, the number of black and Hispanic students accepted to the university system was dropping. Affirmative action had been created to make education and jobs accessible to a population still ham-

pered by the collective experience of slavery and by the years when intimidation and murder by whites were common. Implicit in the policy, and Mr. Clinton’s appearance before a university graduating class of so many different colors, was the assumption that those crude and brutal times were past.

But the three men arrested in the killing of Mr. Byrd in east Texas are not university graduates. They are prison graduates — mean, poorly educated and culturally impoverished. The crime itself is as stupid, as barbaric, as any that horrified the nation more than 30 years ago, when the civil rights movement was at its height. The men arrested there were often Klansmen. The men in jail in Jasper are said to have links to the Klan and a racist prison gang.

There will always be people filled with resentment and malignant feeling at the bottom of society. They do not shape the larger culture. But they stum it, and their actions can inform it. The President has now put off his report to the American people on race until the end of the year. Perhaps with more time and aggressive scheduling, his effort at dialogue will produce a new national conversation.

Meanwhile, the authorities in Mississippi and Texas have demonstrated that equal law enforcement with a long memory remains this society’s most potent weapon against racial violence, if not against the prejudice that lurks in some hearts. The Mississippi authorities have rearrested a group of men who have been several times tried but never convicted in the 1966 firebombing death of Mr. Dahmer, an N.A.A.C.P. leader. In Jasper, the community has rallied around a sheriff bent on color-blind prosecution of this lynching by pickup truck.

Mr. Clinton’s contribution could be enduring. That will not be clear for a long time yet. But the legacy of Vernon Dahmer and James Byrd, bless their souls, could be purifying and real, an affirmation that justice can be certain and equal in the former heartland of segregation.

Reinforcing Diplomacy on Kosovo

The mock air attacks NATO plans to carry out tomorrow in the Balkans are a timely and reasonable response to the growing military violence being orchestrated by Slobodan Milosevic, the Yugoslav President, in the Serbian province of Kosovo. As seen with Iraq earlier this year, diplomacy backed with a show of force can move a leader with a history of failing to respond to gentler forms of international persuasion.

As the Kosovo crisis grew more severe in recent weeks, Washington first tried to encourage a negotiated solution by offering Serbia relief from economic sanctions. When that failed to dissuade Mr. Milosevic from military action, America and its allies issued a series of clear warnings that their patience was running out.

All outside powers, including Russia, now agree that Mr. Milosevic’s forces have been primarily responsible for the increasing violence against Kosovo’s Albanian majority population. That includes the deaths of some 200 civilians, the expulsion of more than 50,000 people from their homes and the flight of 10,000 or more of these uprooted refugees across international frontiers. Most recently, the Yugoslav Army has sown deadly land mines along Kosovo’s border with Albania, raising the risk of a broader regional conflict. NATO hopes that its simulated air raids against targets in Kosovo’s immediate neighbors, Albania and Macedonia, will

convince Mr. Milosevic that he must end the violence and begin good faith negotiations.

This show of force is part of an international diplomatic strategy. The Clinton Administration is right to stress that its goal remains a diplomatic solution, not a military one. Russia’s President, Boris Yeltsin, can help diplomacy succeed if he takes a firm line with Mr. Milosevic in Moscow on Tuesday. Mr. Yeltsin should quickly dispel any illusions Mr. Milosevic may have that his big Slav brother will defend him no matter how outrageously he behaves in Kosovo. Instead, Mr. Yeltsin should use his considerable influence to warn the Yugoslav leader that he must rein in his forces immediately.

That kind of blunt diplomatic message from Russia coupled with NATO’s demonstration of air power should convince Mr. Milosevic that he should back off. If it does not, before Washington contemplates moving any further down a path that could lead to American military intervention, the Clinton Administration must do what it has not done to date. It must spell out the specific political goals it means to achieve in Kosovo, what role military force might play in advancing these and what kind of limits — chronological, geographical and operational — it is prepared to impose on any American mission.

Without such clarifications there cannot be the kind of informed debate a democracy requires before considering the use of military force.

Editorial Observer/VERLYN KLINKENBORG

At a Gathering in Walden Woods

Somewhere a visit to Walden Pond doesn’t really resolve the image of Henry Thoreau. What it does instead is clarify the contradictions, the disparities from which that image is shaped. The light rising from the surface of the pond on a June afternoon reflects indiscriminately on the objects around it. The same was true of Thoreau’s mind, no matter how ill-assorted the objects he wrote about might have been. What harmony there is in Thoreau’s thinking, I believe, came from the collision and eventual abrasion of dissimilar ideas, the struggle, as he might have put it, between the acorn and the chestnut obeying their own laws.

Thoreau’s best work is the result of two very different but complementary perspectives. One came about when he refused to pay his poll tax and was jailed in Concord for a night. Of the village and its institutions on that evening, he wrote that he was “fairly inside of it.” The other perspective was, of course, the one he took when he chose to live fairly outside of Concord, in a small, hand-built house on a rise above Walden Pond.

Both stances, for that is what they were, were honored recently in a clearing on Pine Hill, just southeast

The bright sunshine
and the echo of
Thoreau’s writings.

of the pond, by a crowd that included President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton. The occasion was the dedication of the Thoreau Institute and the permanent conservation of 96 acres of the Walden Woods, both brought about by Don Henley, the lead vocalist of the Eagles.

The President and the First Lady had come to Walden at Mr. Henley’s invitation. So too had the professors who introduced Mr. Henley to Thoreau’s writings, and so had Mohandas Gandhi’s great-granddaughter and Ed Begley Jr. and the rest of the Eagles. And so, most improbably of all, had Tony Bennett, who jogged out of the Walden Woods and onto the stage as if it were the Copacabana. He sang one unaccompanied verse of “America” and then trotted back into the arms of the waiting foliage. It was, naturally, an afternoon of disparities, which the bright sun did nothing to dispel.

When the President stepped up to

the lectern and leaned his arms across the top, I could not help thinking of what Thoreau noticed during his night in jail — not the striking of the town clock or “the evening sounds of the village,” but the fact that he had never “seen its institutions before.” I had never seen the institution of the Presidency in person before, but the man on the stage stood deep within it, and he commented upon the distortion it created, remembering a time when he and his wife could walk in the woods without the experience seeming more real to observers than it did to the two of them.

It was a basic trope of Thoreau’s mind to search for a point of view slightly higher than the one you could gain from the top of Pine Hill. He could not say what you might see from the very highest vantage point, but perhaps his own was high enough. “It is not many moments,” he wrote, “that I live under a government, even in this world.” I tried to imagine what Thoreau might have said about the tribute being paid to him from so deep within a primary institution of a government he barely acknowledged, but there were too many answers, all of them true and all contradictory.

Nation of Caregivers Needs Greater Foresight

To the Editor:

As the baby-boomer generation ages, and in light of today’s smaller families and the increase in the number of women working outside the home, American families’ need for long-term care for elderly family members will increase exponentially, while the shortfall in caregiving becomes wider (news article, June 8).

As you note, private long-term care insurance is too costly to be a solution for many. People who cannot afford such insurance need access to public programs that are more comprehensive than what we have now. It may be human nature that we tend to underestimate our chances of facing disabling health conditions (the average 65-year-old has a 43 percent chance of eventually being admitted to a nursing home), so a public outcry from potential care recipients seems unlikely. If family members do not demand solutions, the problem will worsen.

JONATHAN D. DAUPHINE
Chief Program Officer
Long-Term Care Campaign
Washington, June 9, 1998

Minimal Medicare

To the Editor:

Contrary to the graphics item accompanying your June 8 news article on long-term care, Medicare provides some help in dressing, bathing and eating. However, this may last for only 60 days after the patient is released from the hospital or is referred to home care.

If the patient has a medical condition and is confined to home, the services may continue for longer. Yet under new regulations, many agencies are reluctant to take on patients who will need continual care. There is now a per-beneficiary limit for home care.

Some states, notably Connecticut, have programs to help keep the frail elderly in their homes and out of long-term care facilities. The client pays nothing or a small fee dependent on income.

SYBIL GOODKIN
Tucson, Ariz., June 8, 1998
The writer is a home-care nurse.

Bankrupting Ourselves

To the Editor:

Your June 8 news article on long-term care for the elderly shows that

is wrong with the Medicare system as it relates to home health and community-based long-term care. The Medicare system, established to cover the costs of acute illness for older people, was never meant to provide long-term home care.

Yet the patients I care for are astonished to learn that Medicare will not pay to help with a bath in the absence of a “skilled need” but that Medicaid will pay more than \$30,000 a year for nursing home care once the family has bankrupted itself.

Will we continue under the current approach or decide to provide community-based care to those who require it without bankrupting them and imposing a burden on their caregivers?

BRUCE LEFF, M.D.
Baltimore, June 9, 1998
The writer is associate director of the Elder House Call Program, Johns Hopkins School of Medicine.

Depression Is Common

To the Editor:

I applaud your candid depiction of the struggles of family caregivers (front page, June 7). One important aspect of caregiving is the physical and mental toll it takes on the caregiver.

Our study of intense caregivers (those providing at least 21 hours a week) found that caregivers are often so wrapped up in the hectic routine of providing care that they neglect their own health.

Family caregivers are disproportionately

donately suffering from a number of ailments, including sleeplessness and back problems. Sixty-one percent suffer from depression, six times the national average.

The health of family caregivers needs to be assessed and monitored. “Are you a caregiver?” should be a requisite question at every medical exam.

SUZANNE G. MINTZ
President, National Family Caregivers Association
Kensington, Md., June 10, 1998

Patients’ False Hopes

To the Editor:

A June 9 Science Times article reporting on a study of cancer patients showing that false hope can lead patients to choose aggressive therapies that increase suffering raises issues encountered by those who are unprepared to face them. Doctors often try to soften the blow, sometimes with the thought that they can deliver the message incrementally. However, cancer patients themselves may be less receptive to understanding the truth over time because of several factors. Cancer metastasizing into the brain as well as treatment like radiation to the brain can affect one’s reasoning powers.

So, too, can the debilitation and chronic pain that often accompany cancer. The doctor delivering information to his patients weighs his understanding of the best interest of the patient.

DONALD L. SHERAK, M.D.
Brookline, Mass., June 10, 1998

Choice and Confusion

To the Editor:

You correctly note (front page, June 10) that most Medicare beneficiaries will be confused by the new health insurance options offered to them later this year. One vital fact that many of the elderly may not know is that they do not have to change their current Medicare coverage when the new plans become available. They can still remain in regular Medicare fee-for-service or with their Medicare health maintenance organization.

Providers should advise beneficiaries to stay with the current Medicare coverage until more is known about the plans, including benefits and exclusions, premiums and other out-of-pocket expenses, affiliated medical providers and the right to use grievance and appeal procedures.

ANDREW KONIG
Deputy Director for Public Policy
Samuel Sadin Institute on Law, Albany, June 11, 1998
Write to: Editor, JUNE 11, 1998
The writer is a retired attorney.

Tainted Confessions

To the Editor:

Judge James B. Zagel’s June 6 letter responding to your obituary of the criminologist Fred E. Inbau is typical of those adhering to Machiavellian precepts of justice: that a lie perpetrated by an official is justifiable. On the contrary, it is merely an expedient path in the forbidding maze that is the search for justice.

Lies perpetrated by officials during interrogations are also damaging to enforcement agents because they instigate a dread of law enforcement by the innocent as well as by those presumed guilty.

If I were a potential witness, why would I trust the police enough to speak to them without legal representation, knowing that if they erroneously suspect me of wrongdoing, they may legally use against me evidence gathered by deceptive means?

Interrogation techniques designed to deceive and exhaust suspects might evoke confessions, but how can juries be asked to believe a confession so achieved?

RICHARD REYNOLDS
Bossier City, La., June 9, 1998



Cartoon by Lerner

U.S. Has No Reason to Fear War Crimes Court

To the Editor:

Ruth Wedgwood (Op-Ed, June 10) misses the critical importance of establishing an international criminal court — not only to punish abuses but also to deter them. If we properly define the crimes the court will consider to include genocide, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, (Continued from page 9)

should have no reason to fear an effective and independent court. Moreover, the “complementarity” principle in the draft statute insures that effective prosecutions within a functioning national legal system like ours will not be overridden by the court.

This court must be independent from the United Nations Security Council. If punishing war crimes is influenced by the political priorities of the big powers, crimes in small countries are more likely to be overlooked. A permanent member may prevent the prosecution of war criminals to protect its own interests in a country. The benefits of a court far outweigh the minuscule possibility that it will be used to bring frivolous cases against the United States.

JIMMY CARTER
Atlanta, June 12, 1998

To the Editor:

Ruth Wedgwood’s plea for caution on the proposed international criminal court is well founded (Op-Ed, June 10). Unlike the World Court, the proposed court would exercise jurisdiction over individuals, not sovereign states, and would necessarily trump the legal guarantees of the defendant’s country of citizenship. In the case of Americans, that means the Constitution.

Dozens of prominent organizations and public figures have urged the United States to ratify, even before the definitive treaty has been presented. Many espouse liberal views and have criticized the American criminal justice system. Oddly, they seem to have greater faith in an international court likely to be comprised — at least in part — of judges and prosecutors from judicial pariahs like Cuba, North Korea and Libya.

STEPHEN B. KAPLITZ
New York, June 11, 1998
The writer is legal adviser, National Defense Council Foundation.

To the Editor:

Ruth Wedgwood (Op-Ed, June 10) invokes fears that Americans will be the subject of political harassment by an international criminal court. Effective safeguards against politically motivated prosecutions can and will be pursued in Rome. They include a precise enumeration and definition of the covered crimes; the principle that the court will only complement — not supplant — national judicial systems; judicial

oversight of an independent prosecutor able to begin proceedings, and criteria for selecting and removing judges and prosecutors.

Making the court little more than an extension of the United Nations Security Council, as Ms. Wedgwood proposes, would cripple it. The court will lack legitimacy if it is subject to the political control of the five permanent members. Worse, their veto power could leave the court powerless to deal with the most horrific cases of genocide and crimes against humanity.

MICHAEL POSNER
Executive Director, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
New York, June 10, 1998

To the Editor:

Ruth Wedgwood (Op-Ed, June 10) supports Senator Jesse Helms’s position that the United States should not participate in the creation of a permanent international war crimes court unless it can veto any charges against American service members. Such an attitude requires a misplaced confidence in the righteousness of all American military activities.

The My Lai massacre, for instance, should be sufficient to remind all Americans that we are not immune to crimes against humanity. To suggest otherwise will only strengthen the belief of other countries that the United States is a bastion of arrogance where the will of the rest of human society is ignored.

LIZA RYAN
Berkeley, Calif., June 11, 1998

New Problem With the Press: Attitude in Print

To the Editor:

Maureen Dowd (column, June 10) is right that the photographs of Monica S. Lewinsky in Vanity Fair are pathetic and a kind of pornography. But Ms. Dowd’s assignment of blame to Ms. Lewinsky, her lawyers and her parents is odd; they may be foolish and hypocritical, but they are not the pornographers. Vanity Fair is.

Somebody at the magazine assigned the piece. He or she wasn’t forced to do so. The sad and morose nature of the Lewinsky clan would not be on view were it not for the far greater venality and money lust of the owners and editors of Vanity Fair.

DANIEL CANTOR
Ann Arbor, Mich., June 10, 1998

To the Editor:

Your otherwise thorough examination of the problem of a journalist who fabricated stories (front page, June 12) missed an excellent opportunity to introduce a word of caution about a troublesome trend in American journalism.

The escalating demand on reporters to write stories with more attitude and edge, more interpretation and comment, has made it increasingly difficult for fact checkers to determine whether a word, phrase, sentence or paragraph is a “fact” to be checked or a lure to readers, to be nominated for an award.

BILL KOVACH
Cambridge, Mass., June 12, 1998
The writer is curator of the Nieman Foundation Journalism Fellowships at Harvard University.

To the Editor:

Re “Speaking the Unspeakable” (front page, June 8): The general public, inundated with stories about the most intimate aspect of people’s lives, is becoming impassive, even blasé about the tenor of lewd remarks or gossip. Prurient material has proliferated in movies, videos, magazines and on the Internet. Would it be too presumptuous to ask that the realm of privacy, established by the Supreme Court as a constitutional right, be broadened to encompass the sexual intimacy of consenting adults?

We should get out of other people’s bedrooms.

BERT WINTEROP
Los Angeles, June 6, 1998

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06/10/98

THE ARTS

Coltrane's Son Has His Own Sound

By BEN RATLIFF

IT'S a perfect indicator of jazz's restricted place in American society that Ravi Coltrane — who is the son of John Coltrane — was nobody special as a boy growing up in Woodland Hills, a suburb of Los Angeles. He was nearly 2 when his father died of liver cancer in 1967, and the family moved from Long Island to the San Fernando Valley, where he lived with his mother, Alice Coltrane, and three siblings. Of course, he was suddenly somebody very significant when he arrived at the California Institute of the Arts to study tenor and soprano saxophone, because John Coltrane — who played the same instruments — is still the apotheosis of the jazz sainthood myth.

"When I went to Cal Arts," Mr. Coltrane, 32, said, "I was starting out late, I couldn't play at all, and I had this name that people weren't used to dealing with. I constantly kept this in my mind: I'm here to do one thing. I just wanted to learn about this music and see if I can deal with it as a player. And I'm still thinking like that."

After graduating, Mr. Coltrane moved to a second-floor apartment and rehearsal space overlooking a commercial avenue in Queens in 1991, and started a long apprenticeship with various band leaders, including Elvin Jones, Jack DeJohnette, Wallace Roney, Joanne Brackeen and Steve Coleman. He lives there still, with his girlfriend, Kathleen Hennessy. Relaxed and athletic-looking, he sat at his piano bench a few weeks ago, slapping a chessboard queen into the palm of his hand while he talked.

"There's a lot of stuff going on," he

said, a bit regretfully. "Too much, sometimes. I'd rather be working than not working, but I think I'll get a better feel for things after this year is over."

After appearing as a sideman on 29 records, Mr. Coltrane made a debut album, "Moving Pictures" (RCA/BMG), released last month. Since then he has played a week at Sweet Basil in New York, taken a few trips to Europe and has already been occasionally misquoted talking about his father in a rush of interviews. He will perform tonight in one of the biggest events of the Texaco New York Jazz Festival: a double bill with his group and that of his namesake, the sitarist Ravi Shankar, at Town Hall. Mr. Coltrane will be joined by his mother on piano; she has rarely performed in public since taking up the study of Indian religion and philosophy in the 1970's. Ms. Coltrane said that she expected to play two John Coltrane pieces — "Crescent" and "Resolution," a section from the longer work "A Love Supreme."

"Moving Pictures" is a rare jazz record. It isn't dazzling; Ravi Coltrane's music works on you more slowly. He has a warm, streamlined tone, and he's partial to small, sharp motifs and pockets of silence rather than the endless stuffing of notes through complicated harmonic grids. Along with the tenor saxophonists Mark Turner and Greg Tardy, Mr. Coltrane is one of a growing number of jazz players in their early 30's who are making their mark, an age at which some of their own ideas about music have had time to cool and harden.

The positive effects of that waiting process is obvious to any listener. It's clear that Mr. Coltrane hasn't been bossed around by a producer. The first track on the record gives you the idea: it's Mr. Coltrane and the trumpeter Ralph Alessi playing free improvisations with the Jamaican drum trio Ancient Vibrations, barely jazz at all. Thereafter, the compositional ideas are kept simple, the drummer Jeff Watts turns in a memorable performance as rhythm predominates, and by the end of the album you're left with an accurate indication of Mr. Coltrane's talent. And, no, he sounds nothing like his father. Where John's music was urgent and prolix, Ravi's is cool and concise.

Mr. Coltrane has gained a sense of quiet pride and tact from living with his surname, where others in his

position might have spiraled off into brash delusions. "From the minute I picked up the horn," he said, "I started to see that I was going to get some breaks that other guys wouldn't get." Some of those potential breaks felt undeserved. "You can tell," he said firmly, "when somebody has the 'Coltrane' thing in their eyes."

But judging from his early recordings, it was clear that he wasn't ready; he hadn't learned how to shape his solos, and his tone had rough patches. He waited until the saxophonist and composer Steve

tions."

Mr. Coltrane picked up the clarinet in junior high school and kept an idle interest in music; he points to the death of his brother John Jr. in a car accident in 1982 as a marker for him. From that moment on he began to reprioritize his life. By his late teens, his interest in his father's work had begun to grow. "I'd heard all that music from a very young age, and it had a surface-level effect on me," he said. "It never took the place that that type of music should take when it gets into your body. Later on, it did have that function for me; it became something I couldn't live without."

At school, he was suddenly surrounded by students who knew Coltrane's music better than he did. "I was 21, and I had only started listening seriously for about a year," he said. "I was in a school of advanced players, and people would say, 'Man, you haven't heard 'Kind of Blue' before?' (Coltrane played on that classic 1959 album by Miles Davis.) One day the younger Mr. Coltrane went to the school library, put on headphones and listened for the first time to 'Monk's Music,' a 1957 Thelonious Monk album with his father on it. When he came to the track 'Well, You Needn't,' he was startled. 'Monk takes his solo and yells out 'Coltrane, Coltrane!' and I jumped," he said. "I thought someone was yelling at me."

More recently he has become involved in the Coltrane estate, and in the decisions about releasing parts of the collection of Coltrane recordings kept by his mother. Coltrane liked to record himself rehearsing, and there are more rehearsal tapes in the collection than anything else. Although, as Mr. Coltrane said, "some people would kill to hear them," it's unlikely they'll be released; as a measure of the artist's indifference toward those tapes, he would often record other music over them. There are other intriguing oddities, like a little-known extra take of "A Love Supreme," with Archie Shepp as a second saxophonist. And there are many unissued recordings of Coltrane's later bands, with Ms. Coltrane on piano and the drummer Rashied Ali. But of more immediate interest to the public are unissued recordings by the "classic" Coltrane quartet (with McCoy Tyner, Jimmy Garrison and Elvin Jones), some of which will surface toward the end of 1998 as an added disk to a complete boxed set of that band's recordings for Impulse.



Ravi Coltrane has a streamlined tone that works on you slowly.

Young and in a Niche That the Movies Are Neglecting

By MICHELE WILLENS

PARENTS AND producers alike are struggling to get some better idea about how to appeal to the group known in Hollywood these days as the "twens." They are the 9- to 12-year-olds, too old for the animated stuff and too young, theoretically, for movies like "Object." "He Got Game," "Scream 2" and "Sliding Doors." Alas, these are the movies many are seeing.

These young people are walking contradictions, one foot still in childhood, the other leaping into the age group just above. They collect Beanie Babies when no one's looking and yet wear "South Park" T-shirts. When I was my daughter's age, 10, I was heavily into "The Parent Trap." She had been there, done that by the time she was 7. I doubt I'll be able to drag her to Disney's forthcoming remake, but she has been counting the days until "Can't Hardly Wait," the high school party movie featuring actors from television series she should be too young to watch.

Hollywood hasn't quite given up on the twens, but it is as perplexed about how to entertain them as parents are about how to rear them. "There's very little being made anymore for the twens," says Terry Press, the marketing chief at Dreamworks. "We figure they are either going to be dragged to 'Quest for Camelot' with their younger siblings or they reach 8 and want to see 'Titanic' and everything else. They've really become a niche market."

Indeed, the twens may be the first niche generation, something the makers of "Spice World" learned painfully a few months ago. They expected their movie, starring the Spice Girls, to be swept to success by the group's young fans. Instead, it was apparently done in by them. "I call them subteens," says Barnaby Thompson, the producer of the film, whose core audience was intended to be girls 7 to 12. "What I think happens is they cancel out the teenagers, who don't want to go to anything younger kids want to see. So I think gearing a film to them might be considered hazardous, since everyone wants the teen-agers."

The only made-for-tween films that have done respectably this year are "Mouse Hunt" and "Paulie," both from Dreamworks. The few other movies aimed at the 9- to 12-year-olds, like "The Borrowers," which critics loved, came and went quickly.

Now the summer movie season is upon us, and while in the past it has been chock-full of films for the younger set, be it a Power Rangers/Mortal Kombat feature or the latest Mara Wilson vehicle ("Matilda," "A Simple Wish"), summer '98 looks lean on tween. There are "Doctor Dolittle," a remake with Eddie Murphy in the Rex Harrison role; "Madeline," based on the Ludwig Bemelmans picture books set in Paris, and "Small Soldiers," which mixes computer imagery with live action. And many youngsters are looking forward to the July release of "Basketball," from the makers of "South Park." But they may be sorely disappointed — and their parents sorely

tested — when they see the R rating.

Even those savvy entertainment professionals who have tried to gear films to this age group in the past have grown weary. "When I hear parents complain about no films for their young kids, it kind of gets to me," says Roger Birnbaum, who has produced many a tween-aged movie, including "The Big Green," "Rocket Man" and "Angels in the Outfield." "Because when you make those kinds of films, they don't take their kids to see them. At the same time, the teen-age marketplace is

Children 9 to 12 often see films they're too young for. To Hollywood, they should just grow up.

really a strong demographic now, bigger than the baby boomers, and everything is going toward them."

"There's really not much that is age-appropriate for the middle-school years," says Glenn Stein, a psychologist at the Dalton School in Manhattan. "So these kids are going straight from Disney to 'As Good as It Gets.' And some kids can react adversely to seeing things that are not designed for them. They can become traumatized, desensitized and overstimulated. We need more 'Star Wars.'"

FUNNY he should mention it. The hugely successful re-release of George Lucas's trilogy last year proved that if it's done right, they will come. It also indicated that there might still be curious, innocent tweens lurking behind all that precocious back talk. In 1972, when he started working on "Star Wars," Mr. Lucas was quoted as saying, "Star Wars" is for 10- and 12-year-olds who have lost something even more significant than the teenager. Kids today don't have any fantasy life the way we had."

The situation may be bleak, but it's not hopeless. "Doctor Dolittle," opening later this month, was directed by Betty Thomas, who with "The Brady Bunch Movie" proved she had the right touch to appeal to the tweens.

"I really made 'The Brady Bunch' for people in their 30's and 40's who'd grown up with the TV series, so I was surprised when young kids got into it," says Ms. Thomas. "I didn't realize how many had seen the old show on Nickelodeon." Ms. Thomas believes that "Doctor Dolittle" will appeal to age 8 and up, but like others in the tween-shy industry, she veers away from calling anything a "children's film."

Another film geared to this audience, albeit its younger end, is "Madeline" (think "12 little girls in 2 straight lines"), which opens in July. Spirited girls of summers past have

not fared well — witness "The Little Princess," "Harriet the Spy," "Matilda," even "Pocahontas" — but the folks behind "Madeline" say, naturally, that this one is different.

"Because these books have been read for 80 years and because four generations of women have grown up with them, there is an audience," says one of its producers, Stanley Jaffe. Mr. Jaffe shrugs off warnings that girls today won't want to contemplate a girl their age unless she's reading Seventeen and singing along with Hanson.

"We had a very brief discussion about changing the story to the present day," says Mr. Jaffe, "but then we decided it was safer to keep her in the 50's. It wouldn't be 'Madeline' if the girls were E-mailing each other. I'm not saying there won't be kids who will think it's uncool to see this movie, but it's for people who complain there's nothing for their kids to see."

Madeline, the redhead who strays from those two straight lines, is nothing if not willing to question authority. This is good. Some of the loudest roars of tween approval at screenings of "Titanic" come not when Rose and Jack, played by Kate Winslet and Leonardo DiCaprio, finally connect romantically but when Rose makes a well-known obscene gesture and when she tells her mother to shut up.

That is no guarantee, however, that children who see adult movies are not being overstimulated and overinformed way too soon. Every parent has his or her own pet concern — violence, sex, offensive language, warped values. Many parents are willing to give in on something, usually the language, since it's so omnipresent in daily life. The violence can be numbing and, in light of the recent "kids with guns" real-life horror stories, disturbing. But as Dr. Stein points out, "these kids are already getting it on television and in their computer games, so it's hard to blame the movies alone."

Then there is sex, which, at least in the PG-13 and R movies that so many tweens are seeing, has become tantamount to a good-night kiss. "Basically, most of these PG-13 and R-rated movies, including 'Titanic,' have males and females jumping into bed with each other right after meeting," says Mary Pipper, who wrote the wildly popular book "Revealing Ophelia" about adolescent girls. "And the combination of sex and violence is pernicious. I think these kids are too young to understand the consequences or the subtleties."

What works best, suggests Dr. Pipper, is for parents not only to decide what their children see, but also to see it themselves, so they are able to have informed discussions later.

"A lot of parents are afraid to say no," says Dr. Stein, "afraid it will result in their children being left out of a group. They have to be confident enough in their parenting skills, because these discussions about what movie to see may seem minor now but in a few years they will be pushing the envelope on more serious issues, and the pattern will be set."

BREAKFAST FOR GROWN-UPS

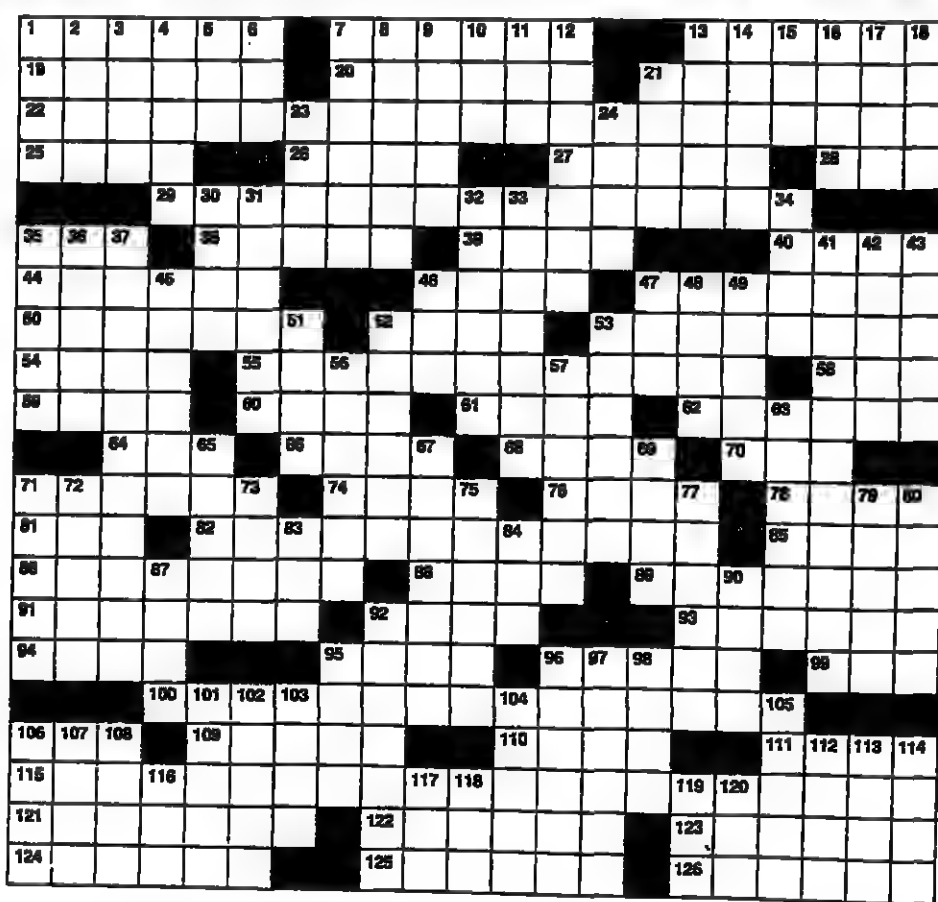
By MANNY NOSOWSKY / Edited by WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 It finds itself in hot water
- 7 Comics debut of 1941
- 13 No longer shrink-wrapped
- 19 Socks pattern
- 20 It didn't keep Little Boy Blue awake
- 21 Jinx
- 22 Breakfast's favorite drama?
- 25 Crime mystery writer Paretsky
- 26 Fluency
- 27 Discredit
- 28 Resort souvenir
- 29 Breakfast's query?
- 35 Associate of Zhou in Germany
- 39 Church part
- 40 Nasty
- 44 Waters and Mertz
- 46 Whispered call
- 47 ACTH or thyroxine
- 50 Bright-colored blooms
- 52 E. coli, for one: Abbr.
- 53 Heads toward
- 54 Fielding brother
- 55 Breakfast's personal credo?
- 58 "Jaws" sighting
- 59 Loose, in a manner of speaking
- 60 The L of L-dopa
- 61 Dry as a bone
- 62 Is in peak singing condition?
- 64 Marked by drinking
- 66 First name in jeans
- 68 Williams and Kennedy
- 70 "The Conqueror Worm" poet
- 71 One way to run
- 74 Peel
- 76 1997 Peter Fonda title role
- 78 Isle of Man man
- 81 Dolt
- 82 Breakfast's maids?
- 85 Just
- 86 Remove all restrictions on
- 88 L'eau lands?
- 89 Mouthed but not spoken
- 91 "Amadeus" role
- 92 Cause of a non sequitur
- 93 Salt of element #53
- 94 Meg's "Prelude to a Kiss" co-star
- 95 Wear well
- 96 Feeding tube?
- 99 Formerly named
- 100 How a breakfaster views himself?
- 106 Cap initials at Busch Stadium
- 109 Have a loan from
- 110 Make
- 111 Part of the eye
- 115 Waiters' reaction after breakfast was over?

DOWN

- 1 — Ski Valley, N.H.
- 2 Author Bombeck
- 3 Golden —
- 4 Legally
- 5 It may be involved in a draft
- 6 Pick up
- 7 Wear off
- 8 Bran accompanier
- 9 Like some chairs
- 10 — et ubique (here and everywhere)
- 11 Female name suffix
- 12 Swellhead
- 13 Routers
- 14 Second of a historical trio
- 15 Cedar — (lumber source)
- 16 "Capital"
- 17 Plain Jane
- 18 Astronaut Slayton
- 21 Actress McClurg
- 23 "No — allowed"
- 24 Confront
- 30 Start with pad or port



- 121 — Forest (W.W.I. battle site)
- 122 "Bewitched" husband
- 123 One in the can
- 124 Holiday driver, in a phrase
- 125 Place beside
- 126 Sharp-pointed instrument
- 31 Lash out at
- 32 Violinist Heifetz
- 33 Surprise challenger
- 34 Mashled dish
- 35 Cross of a sort
- 36 Eric Rohmer's " — of Winter"
- 37 Breakfast's sad comment?
- 41 Breakfast's U.N. guest?
- 42 How tuna may be packed
- 43 Screenom's Laura and Bruce
- 45 Escape artist
- 46 Hand, informally
- 47 "Gotcha!"
- 48 "Is that all right?"
- 49 Swab again
- 51 Illustrator Silverstein
- 52 Second-rate film
- 53 Kind of limebacker
- 56 Opposed
- 57 Jams
- 63 Run a charity, e.g.
- 65 Giggle
- 67 Black to the max
- 69 Will be, to Doris Day
- 71 March music maker
- 72 Ear part
- 73 Wrong end?
- 75 Enlarge
- 77 Observation
- 79 Select or elect
- 80 Paris school
- 83 It releases a dangerous spray
- 84 Spirit
- 87 It may be polished
- 89 1956 Allen Ginsberg poem
- 92 Dodger name of fame
- 95 Local
- 96 Flow stoppage
- 97 Capital city spelled with an unlaugh patron
- 98 Registered, with "up"
- 101 Sondheim song "We're — Be All Right"
- 102 Oscar winner Edmund of "Miracle on 34th Street"
- 103 Golfer Ballesteros
- 104 Prefix with transmitter
- 105 Scrumptious
- 106 Try
- 107 Like some traffic
- 108 Runners
- 112 Kind of chop
- 113 Renaissance art patron
- 114 "I'd hate to break up"
- 116 — Kippur
- 117 Easy mark
- 118 Dadaist Jean
- 119 It might halt traffic on the Rhein
- 120 Many a worker

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

CHEFS HASAY NAF YOGA
OASIS ECOLE OLA AJAY
WATKINS WILLYBOUSE ONE
LAIT MATS RUBY RICE
ERATO ASIA BLIT
WHERE WILL YOU BE TONIGHT
TON HEN EEN ULAN RAO
THOSE PTA LOIRE RAO
HOW WAS YOUR DAY AT SCHOOL
ARROWS LVS HAVE
RANSOMS RNA UNLDED
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National Geographic president and CEO John M. Fahey Jr. studies a statue from the Hatzor palace discovered by Hebrew University archeologists. (Brian Henderson)

America's take on the world

Burger King, McDonald's, Nike, Toys R Us - we've got 'em all.

Now America is bringing its take on something much bigger - the world - via the glossy pages of *National Geographic*, which debuted in Hebrew this month and has launched a major campaign to carve itself a niche in the risky Israeli magazine market.

Hebrew is only the fourth language the magazine has ventured into, following Japanese, Spanish and Italian, all launched in the last three years. And the *National Geographic* Channel may debut on Israeli cable television July 1, replacing NBC Superchannel; negotiations with the local cable company are continuing.

Why is NG entering Israel, given the relatively small market? According to magazine president and CEO John M. Fahey Jr., who visited here last week in honor of the publication's debut, it was the close relationship NG has with Hed Arzi, the mega multimedia company which also publishes the company's books and videos, that convinced it to come to Israel.

"We were ready, willing and able, and it felt good to do it with them," said Fahey. "If our mission is to get geographic knowledge to as many people as possible, we have to publish in other languages."

Actually, it was Hed Arzi that convinced *National Geographic* to venture into the foreign language market in the first place, says Mickey Tunis, managing director at Hed Arzi.

"They thought we were crazy when we came to them in 1993 to request rights to publish the magazine in a foreign language. Americans tend to think only of themselves - in their movies and their music and everything - their market is big enough to do that."

Hed Arzi has purchased the franchising rights to publish the magazine; a percentage of its profits and advertising sales will go to NG. NG is currently negotiating with other countries like France, Germany and Poland for franchising rights. The Greek edition comes out next month.

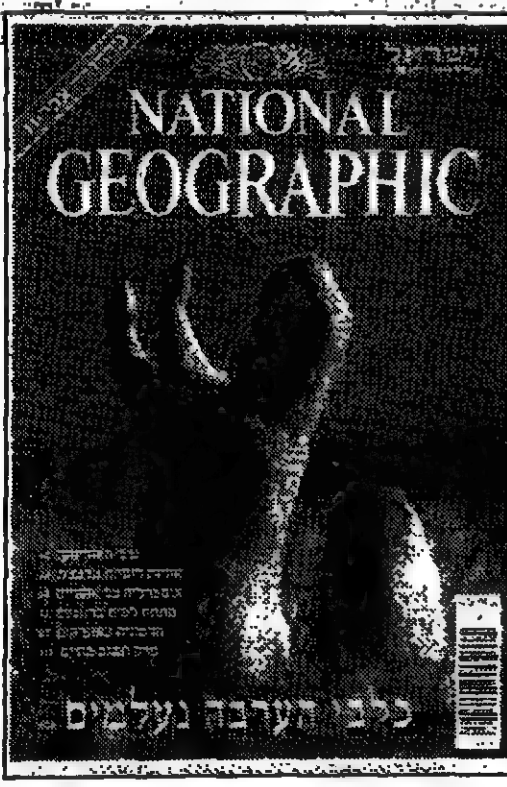
IN ALL these ventures, the financial risk for *National Geographic* is minimal: what's on the line is their reputation, one that has been building for 110 years. In US marketing surveys, Fahey notes, *National Geographic* always comes out number one in terms of readers' perception of quality.

To ensure that the Hebrew NG meets the high standards of the magazine, all translated copy will be sent back to Washington, D.C. and retranslated into English to ensure loyalty to the original. The magazine will be laid out in Israel at *National Geographic's* seven-member office, but it will be printed in Spain, "until they find a printer who can do it here in Israel," says Fahey.

Like the other foreign-language versions, NG in Hebrew will carry the same photographs and articles as the English version. Some 5-10 percent of the articles will be locally produced, such as things that tie into other articles.

For example, in an article this

National Geographic's new Hebrew-language edition hopes to cash in on Israeli curiosity about far-flung places - but the magazine's entry into the market here leaves local competitors unruffled, writes Amy Klein



(Left) The Hebrew edition bears the instantly recognizable English title; 'Masah Aher' (A Different Journey) is its most likely competitor here.

month called "Russia's Iron Road," there's a sidebar in Hebrew called "Jewish Settlements on the Train Tracks," and in the "Diary of the World" there's a short item entitled "Well-Preserved Trees," which reports that the Israeli government intends to invest in preserving 50 historical gardens.

This month's "Second Printing" column reprints John Scoplard's "Israel, the Promised Land," from 1965, for what was then Israel's upcoming 18th anniversary.

With nine million subscribers in 191 countries around the world, the unmistakable yellow-bordered, small-size glossy has practically become a household - or at least dentist's office - staple. Hed Arzi is betting on the fact that product recognition (the Hebrew edition bears the English title on the cover) will move the magazine in Israel.

Israel currently has 15,000 subscribers to the English edition; NG-Israel's editor Daphna Raz talks about a projected readership of 70,000 for the Hebrew one.

At NIS 26 for subscribers and NIS 34 at the newsstands, NG is certainly giving the competition a run for their money.

The most likely competitor,

Masah Aher (A Different Journey) magazine - which sells at NIS 27.50 for subscribers and NIS 39 at the newsstands - doesn't see the two magazines as competing for the same market.

"We are a wide-interest maga-

To ensure that the Hebrew edition meets *National Geographic's* high standards, all translated copy will be sent back to Washington, D.C. and retranslated into English to ensure loyalty to the original

zine whose emphasis is on enriching the travel experience," says Zohara Ron, editor of the 11-year-old publication. "Some of our articles are on places a person might never go to, on their cultures and climates; some are practical articles. But we aren't an encyclopedia."

Far from being concerned, Ron thinks the entry of NG into the market might actually increase her sales. She points out that when Burger King came to Israel, Burger Ranch's sales increased. Likewise, when *Teva Hadvarim* (*The Nature of Things*) magazine entered the market four years ago, *Masah Aher's* sales nearly doubled. Today they claim sales of 64,000.

Ron believes Israelis prefer a

magazine in their own language.

"But it's not just a matter of language. Most of the writers are Israeli; they see things from an Israeli perspective, and that makes a tremendous difference."

Uri Ran, editor of *Teva Hadvarim*, a magazine about science, nature and travel, also thinks Israelis will rally around the local product - namely his magazine, which currently claims about 45,000 in sales. It was modeled on *National Geographic*, but Ran isn't worried now the real thing is here.

"Today you don't need to discover the world," he says. "*National Geographic* has written about the world with nostalgia and romanticism, which, back then, was deserved. But today they're just like the rest of us."

Ran compares NG's small staff to his own - "20,000 Israelis" traveling around the world and submitting articles (*Teva Hadvarim* gives young Israelis travel and photography equipment in exchange for submissions). The Israeli magazines have nothing to be embarrassed about with the advent of the new competitor, he says.

National Geographic, of course, doesn't see anyone as a direct

competitor. Some of the magazines are not on the same quality level, says Tunis, and others, like *Masah Aher*, cover different subject matter.

"*National Geographic* is not a travel magazine," says Raz. "It's about places, people, cultures, covering history, geography, anthropology and archeology. It's always been in the market for a good product."

IT WASN'T Hed Arzi's intention to go into the magazine business, Tunis notes. But after they began to publish NG's books in 1989 and videos in 1992, "we began to understand that *National Geographic* is a world message, a way of life. We felt we had to bring the backbone of NG here - that's the magazine."

That "way of life" is the *National Geographic* Society, a nonprofit organization whose purpose is to diffuse geographical knowledge around the world. All subscribers to the magazine are essentially paying membership to the society, which puts out NG, as well as a children's magazine, books and videos. It also owns the cable TV station that is coming to Israel instead of NBC Superchannel beginning July 1.

All profits are reinvested into the society's projects. To date, NG has sponsored 6,000 research projects around the world, including Robert E. Perry's expedition to the North Pole in 1909 and Richard Byrd's to the South Pole in 1929.

The Titanic discovery expedition in 1985 was founded, in part, by the society.

Research grants are in the fields of oceanography, anthropology, astronomy, archeology, botany, biology, geology, zoology and paleontology, and can go as high as \$30,000 per year.

Since 1962, the society has funded 76 projects in Israel, with over \$1 million worth of grants. Current projects include excavation of the biblical site of Hatzor, and at Kfar Horesh.

"*National Geographic* has given a substantial amount of support for projects in this part of the world," says Dr. Nigel Goring Morris, professor of archeology at the Hebrew University, whose project at Netiv Hagadon near the Jordan Valley is partially funded by the society. Now that NG is publishing its magazine in Hebrew, will Israeli projects receive more money?

"We evaluate proposals based on the projects themselves," responds Fahey, but adds, "obviously, the country will benefit from our close relationship." Part of the profits of the Hebrew NG will return to the *National Geographic* Society for funding to their various projects around the world.

Though NG in Israel is a for-profit venture, Tunis envisions it sponsoring similar projects here. For him, in any case, it's more than a business venture.

"*National Geographic* teaches us about the world, about other cultures," he says. "It builds a bridge of unity. [People] can become less radical and fanatical. If we can succeed in passing on this message, we will be great."

The Iron Lady of peace

It's a rule in Israeli journalism when you get a letter from an old Russian immigrant lady urging world peace, don't bother reading it. Just put it in the recycling bin along with all the other letters from old Russian immigrant ladies urging world peace.

Having followed the rule, it goes without saying you should not call the lady for more details. Or set up an interview.

Couldn't help myself. I don't like rules. But more than that, this old Russian etc. lives in Beersheba and, like everyone else, I never miss a chance to visit Beersheba.

Well anyway, I hope I've encouraged you to stay with this. (You may want to continue a bit more just to see if I'm kidding. Oddly enough, I'm not.)

Mira Efrus founded a peace club in the Ukrainian iron mining city of Kriviy Rig in 1985. A few short years later, world peace occurred when the Iron Curtain melted. It may be a coincidence, maybe not.

"Of course the club helped; it got people together. Many people came to visit us, of many nationalities."

Mira, a 70-year-old with boundless enthusiasm for her

diplomacy conference at the Diplomatic Academy in Moscow. Speaking in front of 200 people, she criticized her government, obliquely, with the words: "Where does Europe end?" She's still proud of that.

Mira, armed with an ability to speak English, rather ploddingly - she was an English teacher at Mining Technical High School, and the only English-speaking guide in her city of a million people - was the perfect attaché for foreign guests.

"We had peace-making contacts with 22 countries. Many foreign visitors came to our club meetings. We once had the ambassador of Angola. Americans came. You know, we were taught to see Americans as evil, and at first we were surprised to see them smiling and friendly; they thought we would be like bears. Propaganda!"

Janet Coester was one of their most prominent friends. A leading American peacekeeper who has walked almost around the world spreading her message, Coester wrote Mira that "[Your club] is one of the best, if not the best, hearth of citizen's diplomacy in the world."

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

"We have to talk. Arabs and Jews. They will see that youngsters are not guilty. Only politicians are warmongers. Ordinary people are born peaceful!"

crusade, has wanted to create Israel's first peace club since she arrived in December 1996. She has been held back by her arch enemy, war.

"The Ministry of Education welcomed the idea, but I have not been able to, I have to take care of my husband, Yuli."

Yuli lost a leg in World War II. He has been on crutches ever since.

That is not Mira's only legacy of conflict.

Her father, a journalist, was arrested in 1937 together with his newspaper's entire editorial board. Two years later he was released, "rehabilitated," and in 1941 he "volunteered" to join the army. Put on the front, he was killed almost instantly.

Her grandmother, grandfather and uncle were buried alive at Babi Yar.

Her grandson is currently in the IDF, stationed in Gaza.

Mira thought she could help change hate to love. The Soviet regime benignly tolerated her club "because we were all Communist Party members, we were patriots. The KGB was always following me, but they trusted me."

She did manage to tweak the Russian bear's nose on one memorable occasion, in 1990. Shortly after Greenpeace guests to her club were refused permission to bring their bicycles into the Soviet Union, she was invited to an international

Another big-name supporter was Dick Sherwood. He flew the recon flight over Hiroshima two days after the bombing, and thereafter devoted his life to antiwar activities.

After the Madrid Conference, the Kriviy Rig peace club brought together Jews from London and New York with Palestinians studying in town.

So Mira brought peace to the world at large. But there were still holdouts of enmity. So Mira came here.

Don't think she doesn't have a solution to our problems.

"We have to talk. Arabs and Jews. They will see that youngsters are not guilty. Only politicians are warmongers. Ordinary people are born peaceful. We just have to talk. Understand each other."

Now, why didn't anyone ever think of that before?

Mira sighs and pats her chest. "No grandmother wants war."

Seeing her grandson Timur in a military environment - he's been in the army for more than two years - disrespects Mira, but at the same time it gives her hope.

"Timur is a soldier, but he is doing work of peace. It is most encouraging. He is patrolling in Gaza together with Palestinians. They are talking together, and that shows me that peace is possible."

Yes, Mira, they may be talking, but what are they saying?

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Some of the advertisements appearing in our papers are type set outside The Post. When such an advertisement arrives just before the publication deadline, especially when it is provided in the form of a film, it is difficult for us to correct any spelling mistakes that may appear. While we make every effort to correct such errors, we must ask our readers' indulgence for those occasions when this is not possible.

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ISRAEL AIRPORTS AUTHORITY

BEN GURION 2000 PROJECT

Public Tender no. C40100 52
Airside Siteworks Civil Contract

The Israel Airports Authority (IAA) hereby requests proposals from qualified Offerors meeting the below listed Pre-Conditions for the Construction of the Airside Siteworks Civil Work for the Ben Gurion 2000 Project. The Work of this Contract generally includes managing and performing the finish grading, sub-base preparation, asphalt paving, concrete base/stands, extension of jet-fuel piping system, and selected utilities in the Airside of the new terminal.

Preliminary Mandatory Requirements: This list summarizes the Pre-Conditions for an Offeror's Proposal to be Considered by the IAA. Only the complete language of the Pre-Conditions as stated in the RFP is binding. This text may be obtained by written request, submitted on company letterhead, to the PMF Deskline number stated below.

- Offeror shall be registered with the Contractors Register of the State of Israel under the classification of Group C, Branch 200, Type 5 (Unlimited). An Offeror shall provide the information required in the RFP, Exhibit A.
- Offeror's minimum annual revenue from construction work in each of the last three (3) years was not less than the equivalent of Thirty Five Million U.S. Dollars (\$35 Million).
- Offeror's records must indicate, for each of the last three (3) years, the cost paid directly for labor for at least eighty (80) persons (annual average).
- Offeror has completed a minimum of:
 - Two (2) asphalt road projects of the equivalent of Eight Million Dollars (\$8 Million) within the last five (5) years; and
 - One (1) concrete apron project of at least 100,000 square meters in size, within the last five (5) years.
- Offeror shall meet the staffing and personnel experience requirements specified in the RFP, Exhibit A.
- Offeror shall meet the registration requirements for a legal entity stated in the RFP, Exhibit A.
- Offeror shall meet the VAT and Israeli Tax Authorities' registration requirements stated in the RFP, Exhibit A.
- Offeror shall provide an unconditional Bank Guarantee in the amount of Fifteen (15) Million New Israeli Shekels (NIS), valid for a minimum of ninety (90) days from the Proposal Submission date, as specified in the RFP, Exhibit E.
- Joint Ventures are allowed to participate in the Tender in accordance with the conditions stated in the RFP, Part B, Section 2 and Exhibit A.
- Offeror, if a foreign entity, shall sign a Commercial Cooperation Undertaking.

Additional Preliminary requirements: participation in the Tender Process is subject to the Offeror's satisfying all Preliminary Requirements as detailed in the Mandatory Tender Regulations (1993), Classes 6 (A), (1), (2) and (3).

Proposal Documents: Tender Documents may be purchased until the Proposal Submission Date for the non-refundable amount of Nineteen Thousand, Five Hundred New Israeli Shekels (19,500 NIS), including VAT.

Tender Documents are available from the Project Management Firm (PMF) Project Office located at Ben Gurion Airport starting 15 June, 1998 between the hours of 09:00 and 12:00, business days (Sunday through Thursday). Interested Offerors must contact the PMF Contracts Administrator, Mr. Amnon Yostep at telephone number: 972-3-977-4464 (fax no. 972-3-971-3956) a minimum of 48 hours in advance to arrange site access. Interested parties may preview the Tender Documents prior to their purchase.

All qualifying Proposals shall be delivered in sealed envelopes/packages not later than 10:00 hours local time on or before 4 August 1998, to the appropriate tender box located in the Annex of the Airports Authority, Main Office, 2nd Floor, Room No. 113, Ben Gurion International Airport, Israel.

A Pre-Proposal Conference will be held at the Ben Gurion 2000 Project Site Offices on 24 June 1998 at 12:00 to clarify provisions in the RFP documents, to summarize and present the Project and to respond to written questions posed by Offerors. Offerors are strongly encouraged to attend, but participation is not mandatory. Site access must be arranged in advance as stated in the RFP. The IAA is not bound to accept the lowest Proposal or any Proposal whatsoever.

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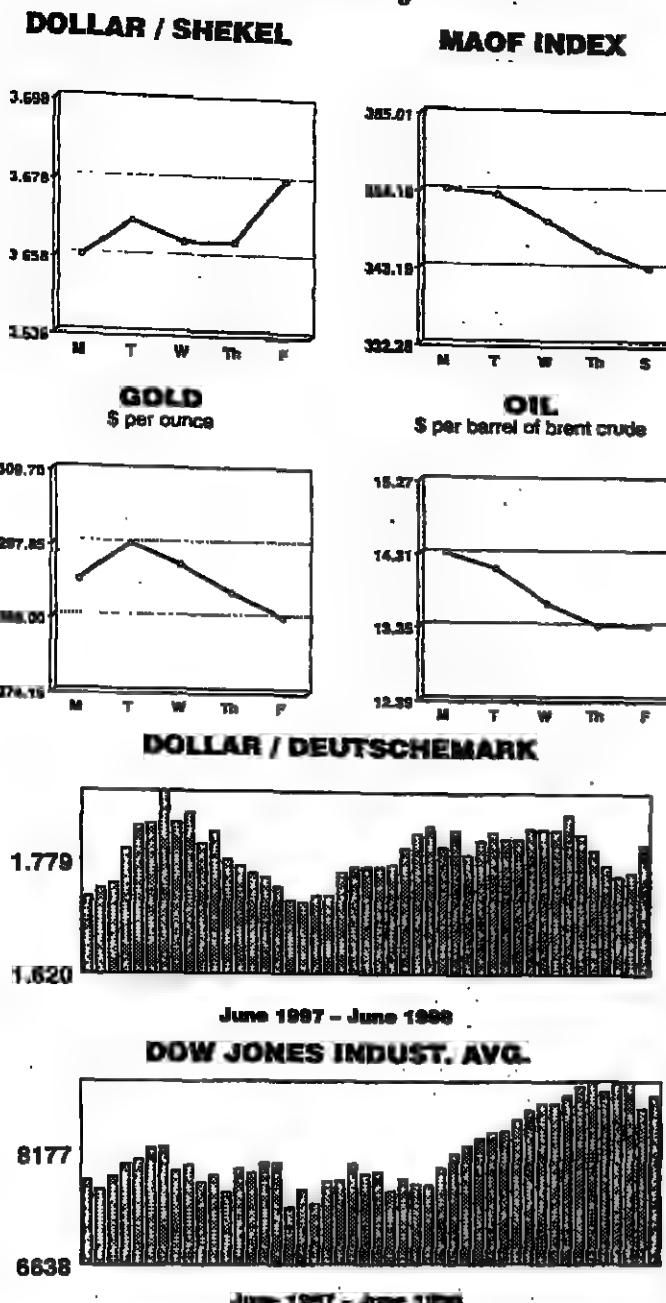
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MARKETS

in brief



Drexler approved as new ILA chief

The cabinet yesterday approved National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon's request to appoint Avi Drexler as the new head of the Israel Lands Administration. Meretz leader and former environment minister Yossi Sarid was among those criticizing the appointment of Drexler, a lawyer, calling it "problematic and improper."

Sarid said the appointment would probably be challenged in the Supreme Court. According to Sarid, Drexler has been involved in recent years in huge real estate deals. He also noted Drexler is considered close to Sharon, whose ministry has responsibility for the ILA. "There is a clear conflict of interests," Sarid said.

Liat Collins

Industrial exports up 4.6% in May

Industrial exports, including diamonds, were up 4.6% in May to \$1.61 billion from \$1.54b. in the same month last year, the Industry and Trade Ministry said yesterday. Diamond exports fell 16% to \$344m., a continuation of a downward trend that began last October. Industrial exports excluding diamonds totaled \$1.27b., a 12.3% increase from May 1997. Most of the growth was in telecommunications and medical equipment, which grew 23% from a year earlier. Sectors with a drop in exports included food, down 6.4%, and jewelry, a 21% decline.

Nina Gilbert

Eizenstat slams EU sanctions talk

By DAVID HARRIS

Israel's exporting of goods from the territories bearing a "made in Israel" label is not in breach of international law, US Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat said yesterday in Jerusalem.

In answer to a question from *The Jerusalem Post*, Eizenstat said the European Union's claims to the contrary and threats of sanctions "are not constructive."

Speaking at the Hebrew University School of Business Administration, Eizenstat said that rather than condemning Israel a better approach is the one currently adopted by the US - encouraging Israel to allow and aid the growth of the Palestinian economy.

The EU is urging Israel to end the "made in Israel" practice, saying this allows goods produced in the territories to qualify for duty-free status to which they should not be entitled.

Eizenstat, however, was not fully supportive of Jerusalem's approach to the Palestinian economy.

While Israel is not the only factor, many of its policies have helped cause an "economic trauma" for the Palestinian Authority.

"There are some signs of improvement due to the lack of closures... but the situation remains dire," he said.

Some 3.5 percent of the Israeli gross domestic product comes from direct investment, which "is not the case in the Palestinian economy."

Eizenstat said the US is not dictating to Israel how it should manage its own security concerns but said many of the impediments in existence are damaging the Palestinian economy, which in turn minimizes the chances of a real peace.



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu meets with visiting US Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat last night in the Prime Minister's Office.

Key in Eizenstat's criticisms was the issue of the free flow of people and goods between the West Bank and Gaza. He spoke of Palestinian claims that it is cheaper to export produce from Hebron to Venice, than it is from Hebron to Gaza.

Often, Palestinians in Gaza have no choice other than to buy Israeli goods rather than those manufactured in the West Bank, because the cost of the latter are prohibitively expensive having either traveled through Israel, or more often via Arab countries.

Eizenstat pointed to four key reasons why Israel must help boost the Palestinian economy:

- After the U.S., the PA is Israel's second largest export destination, worth a yearly \$1.6 billion.
- Alienating the Palestinians will only serve to threaten this market.
- The Palestinian workforce is a

credible alternative to the socially problematic foreign workers.

• Palestinians could be a vital bridge between Israel and the broader Arab world. In the future, there is nothing to prevent Palestinian businesspeople acting as partners with their Israeli counterparts, dealing with third parties.

• Foreign investors consider Israel as an integral part of the Middle East. As such, if they see a

healthy environment, particularly on the Palestinian front, they will be more encouraged to enter the Israeli market.

Eizenstat held talks with Israeli and Palestinian economic ministers before meeting Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

During that session he presented Netanyahu with a plan to encourage an increase in bilateral trade between Israel and Jordan.

Industry and Trade Ministry:

Yuan devaluation would hurt exports

By DAVID HARRIS

Israel should be more concerned about a possible devaluation of the Chinese yuan than at the current economic crisis in Japan, according to Marilyn Mordechai, deputy director of the Industry and Trade Ministry's Foreign Trade Administration.

Over the weekend, Japan issued figures pointing to its first recession in six years, with the economy shrinking 1.3 percent in the first quarter, or an annualized 5.3%. The economy shrank 0.7% in the year to March 31, the first full-year decline since the oil crisis in 1973-4.

Most of what is being witnessed in Japan was already taken into account by Israel when it published its macroeconomic forecasts for the year, Mordechai said. However, a serious problem could arise for Israel if China decides to devalue the yuan, she said.

"This could set off a chain reaction in all the Asian currencies," she said. "Markets like Thailand and Indonesia have pretty well gone down a lot for Israel and this would make things a lot worse."

However, Hebrew University economist Elitzan Sheshinski main-

tains that China's economy is so robust it should be able to withstand most of the blows to which others in the region are succumbing. Israel is less likely to be directly affected by the Japanese crisis. If anything, trade conditions should improve, with Japan looking to drop prices of exports.

He sees Israel being caught up in

a secondary manner, as other world economies fall prey to events in Japan and its neighbors. He predicts the effect of the latest events in Japan could well double the International Monetary Fund prediction that world economic growth will be slowed by 1% this year following the Indonesian crisis. Even the US will be hit by the

latest developments.

"I wouldn't say [the US would enter] a recession at this time but certainly a slowdown," said Sheshinski.

A Bank of Israel official said it is too early to tell what effect the latest macroeconomic data from Japan will have on Israel. "We'll have a better idea in a few days," he said.

Despite the fears about falling trade with the Far East, Mordechai stressed that Israel does not consider Japan a dead market, and excellent business links will continue.

Israeli economists are, on the whole, suggesting that the key area to be affected by the news from Japan will be demand for consumer goods, and while that should leave Israeli high-tech exports mainly unaffected, diamond and plastic sales are likely to be seriously affected.

There has been heightened concern about a Chinese currency devaluation because of the Japanese economy's decline.

"The only mechanism [China] has to create income is to devalue and export," SBC Warburg Dillon Read foreign exchange global head Andrew Siciliano told Bloomberg at the weekend.

January-May exports to Asia down 27.5%

Total exports to Asia shrank 27.5 percent in the first five months of the year in comparison to the same period in 1997, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday. From January to May sales to the Far East brought in \$1.346 billion, as against \$1.856b. last year.

The principal declines were felt in trade with Hong Kong (-33.4%), Thailand (-33.6%), Japan (-26.6%), and India (-25.7%). While exports with other Asian nations registered larger declines, trade with these countries is considerably less significant than with the likes of Hong Kong and Japan.

During the same period, imports from Asia increased from \$1.316b. in the first five months last year to \$1.368b. between January and May.

Overall, exports of goods (excluding diamonds) increased 10% or by \$655 million in the first five months, while imports decreased 2.6%. The changes in total imports and exports were principally in trading with the European Union and US.

D.H.

Survey: Consumers prefer discount food chains

By NINA GILBERT

The average household expenditure on food is NIS 1,700 a month, a 17 percent increase from last year, and more of this money is being spent in discount food chains, according to a survey conducted for the Manufacturers Association.

Household with above average incomes spend about NIS 1,940 a month, compared with NIS 1,300 for below average wage earners. The survey, of 600 Jewish households, was conducted in April for the association's food division by the Geocartography Institute.

Discount food chains now comprise the largest portion of household spending each month on food, at 32.4%, an 8% increase compared with last year. The largest shopping group in the discount chains is the 25-34 age group, with average-sized families and average and above average incomes.

Large chain stores and superstores each get about 14% of food expenditure, unchanged from last year.

The survey found that the share of spending in mini-markets and small food shops has dropped below 20% for the first time in four years, and now take in about 18% of a family's monthly food spending.

About 9% is spent in open-air markets, a 1.6% increase compared with a year ago. The largest group buying in these markets is below average income earners.

The survey also found a continuation in the upward trend in which people are shopping at a larger number of food outlets, an average of 2.8 locations, compared with 2.67 last year, in what the survey said points to increased sophistication of shoppers who are searching for the best deals.

More than half of all food shopping is carried out in discount stores by some 32% of all households, an increase that has come at the expense of small food shops and supermarkets, the survey found. Only 14.5% of all households shop mostly in small food shops, compared with 19% a year ago. Fewer households, 12.5% compared with 16.5%, are shopping mostly in super stores.

The survey also found that the public is more interested in two-for-one deals this year and in using coupons.

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MEMO

June 12, 1998

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Director, International Funds Division

From: David Zwebner, President

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I also think investors like the fact that although this fund is accompanied by risk, its fluidity allows them to withdraw at any time.

You're a credit to our organization and an example to the industry.

P.S. Thank goodness your tennis game isn't as good as your stock-picking!

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PM to decide on joining EU's R&D program

By NINA GILBERT

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Finance Minister Yassov Neeman and Industry and Trade Minister Nathan Sharansky are due to meet today to discuss whether to give the go-ahead for Israel to participate in the

European Union's fifth research and development program.

Israel and the EU have aimed to initial an agreement this month. Sharansky is to ask Netanyahu for the mandate to join the program.

An interministerial committee considered whether Israel should participate, and all its members except for the Finance Ministry were in favor.

The Treasury has been opposed to participation in the program due to budgetary considerations and the view that the \$160 million cost of the four-year program does not have sufficient economic benefit to the economy.

"The Europeans have offered us good conditions offered to no other participant," said Sharansky's economic adviser Yifat Turbiner-Baron. "Israel must

take every opportunity to join the international economy and must not isolate itself. The Treasury is opposed to the program for irrelevant reasons. Israel can't afford not to participate."

Some 70,000 joint ventures are created in the program in the areas most attractive to Israel, especially in information technology and life sciences.

A team of 30 executives from high-tech firms and research institutes are now in Brussels to make contacts and seek potential partners for the program, in which some \$13b. in funding is available.

Meanwhile, the Industry and Trade Ministry's Chief Scientist Office has reached an agreement with the Treasury whereby the 1998 budget for research and development grants can be increased by NIS 450 million.

The agreement was a result of a joint inspection of resources for R&D after the Industry and Trade

Ministry warned that support would stop by next month due to a budgetary shortfall of NIS 700m. this year.

The extra funding will come from a restructuring of the state budget to find extra resources, but without breaching the budgetary framework, the Industry and Trade Ministry said.

In addition, the Chief Scientist's Office will boost efforts to ensure collection of royalties owed by firms which have begun to earn revenues.

Sharansky and Neeman also agreed to make amendments to the Capital Aid Investment Law. According to the changes, repayment of grants in the form of royalties by projects that succeed will be linked to the dollar plus 6.5% interest. At present, royalties are returned without interest.

The annual royalty payment on sales will increase to 4.5% of sales from the first year of sales, compared with 3% today.

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Redemption Price: 136.38

MUTUAL FUNDS
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DRIVE CAREFULLY

Major League Statistics (Through Friday's games)

NATIONAL LEAGUE

TEAM	W	L	ERA	BB	SO	SV
New York	3.02	483	188	284	424	16
Pittsburgh	3.39	578	227	194	452	7
Atlanta	3.41	554	227	194	452	7
Houston	3.43	582	227	194	452	7
San Diego	3.46	590	241	217	444	3
San Francisco	3.48	571	251	252	465	22
Los Angeles	3.50	555	238	237	499	3
Chicago	4.08	591	269	234	482	4
Philadelphia	4.12	598	266	219	414	6
Montreal	4.45	598	289	245	424	2
Cincinnati	4.54	578	289	217	495	4
St. Louis	4.57	553	288	245	424	2
San Francisco	4.89	618	321	225	407	3
Colorado	5.12	651	334	249	404	2
Arizona	5.23	613	341	233	373	1
Florida	5.30	666	348	308	417	1

INDIVIDUAL PITCHING

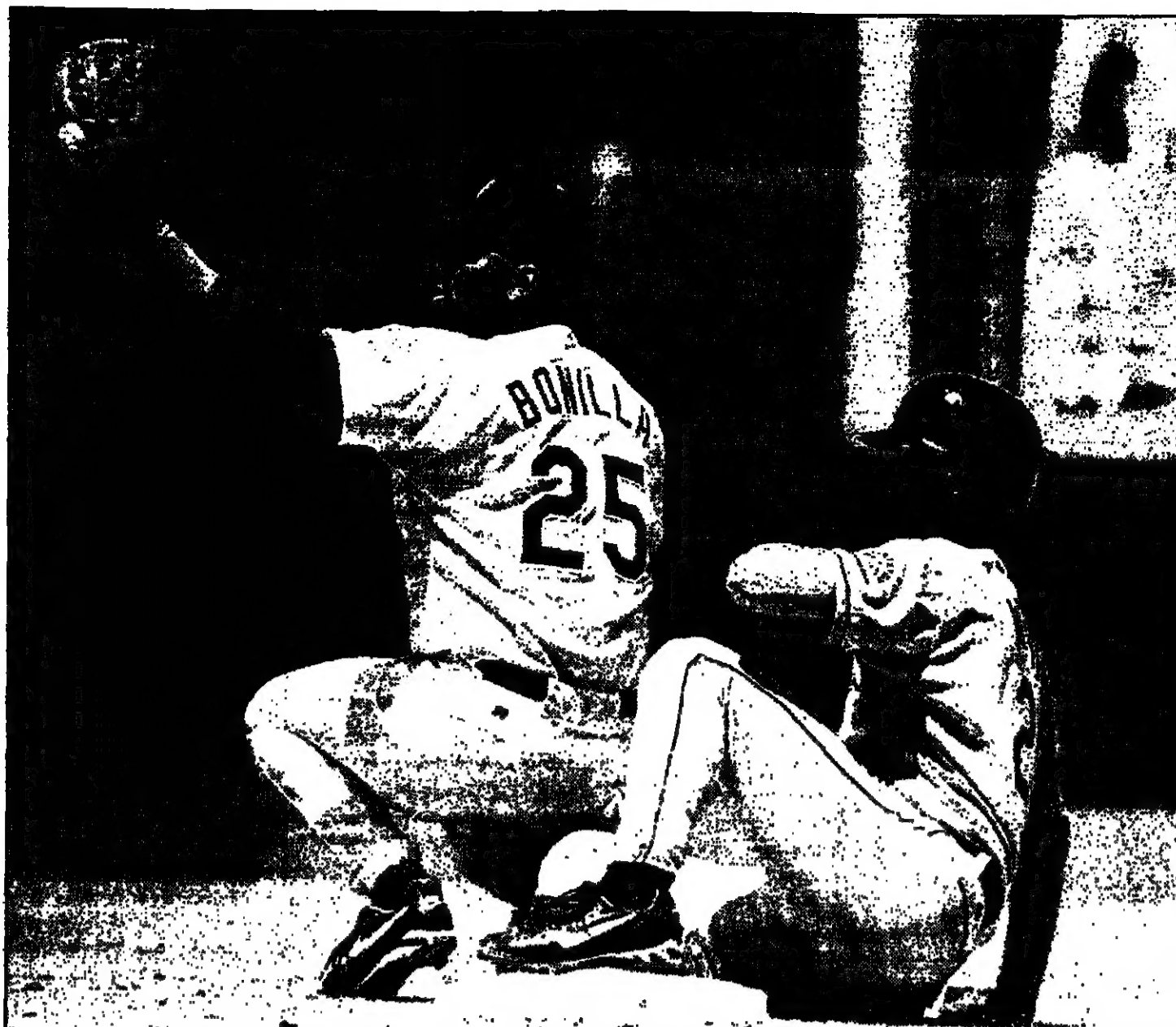
Player	W	L	ERA	BB	SO	SV
Wickman	39	15	3.3	4	159	
Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	
Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	
Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	
Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	
Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	
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Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	
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AMERICAN LEAGUE

TEAM	W	L	ERA	BB	SO	SV
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Pittsburgh	3.39	578	227	194	452	7
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San Francisco	3.48	571	251	252	465	22
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Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	
Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	
Alaraz	39	15	3.3	4	159	



ONE UP, THREE DOWN - Dodgers 3B Bobby Bonilla shows ball to umpire after tagging out Rockies' Jamey Wright to complete triple play in the fifth inning. The play was scored 1-6-5.

Sosa powers Cubs past Phillies

Dodgers turn triple play; Blue Jays win slugfest vs. Orioles

PHILADELPHIA (AP) - Chicago's Sammy Sosa hit his 21st homer and drove in the go-ahead run with a sacrifice fly in the 10th inning as the Chicago Cubs beat the Philadelphia Phillies 10-8 on Saturday.

Sosa, who drove in four runs, has 12 home runs and 29 RBIs in his last 14 games. Brant Brown also homered for Chicago, and Mickey Morandini, acquired from Philadelphia in an offseason trade, was 4-for-5.

Diamondbacks 7, Cardinals 4

Rookie Travis Lee homered in consecutive innings and drove in a team-record five runs as Arizona rallied for a home win.

St. Louis star Mark McGwire, who hit his major league-leading 31st home run Friday night, was 1-for-2 with two walks, raising his league-leading total to 70.

Rockies 4, Dodgers 2

Colorado's Larry Walker went 3-for-3 with a solo home run and the Dodgers turned their first triple play ever at Dodger Stadium and second since moving to Los Angeles in 1958.

The fifth-inning triple play, which began on a bunt by Kurt Abbott, also was the first involving the Rockies in their six-year history.

Abbot's bunt fell between

Darren Dreifort (4-6) and first baseman Eric Karros, with Dreifort throwing to shortstop Jose Vizcaino at second base for the first out. Vizcaino relayed to first base, where second baseman Eric Young was covering, for the second out. Jamey Wright was thrown out when Young threw to third baseman Bobby Bonilla.

Braves 9, Expos 7

Javier Lopez and Andrew Jones hit back-to-back homers in both the second and third innings, powering Atlanta to a home victory.

Lopez had a pair of two-run homers, his 14th and 15th of the season, off Mike Johnson (0-2). Jones hit his 11th and 12th homers off Johnson, the third time he has homered twice in a game this season.

Tom Glavine (9-2) gave up four runs in the first inning, then settled down to win his 12th straight decision against Montreal.

Brewers 1, Pirates 1

Jeff Juden pitched a five-hitter and barely missed the first shutout of his major league career and Jeremy Bonamichi hit two of visiting Milwaukee's three homers.

Backstopper Bobby Hughes added a two-run double off Jason Schmidt (8-3) and helped shut down the Pirates' offense by throwing out runners attempting to steal.

Reds 7, Astros 4

Dmitri Young hit a three-run home run in the fifth inning and Bret Boone followed with another homer, rallying Cincinnati to a home win.

The Reds won for only the third time in 11 games by scoring four times with two outs in the fifth off Shane Reynolds (7-4).

Mets 7, Marlins 4

Butch Huskey's three-run homer highlighted a seven-run third inning that sent Rick Reed and New York to a road win.

Reed (8-3) allowed seven hits and struck out eight in 8 1/3 innings, winning for the seventh time in his last eight starts.

John Franco closed for his 15th save. It was Franco's 401st game for the Mets, tying the team record for a pitcher set by Tom Seaver.

Padres 4, Giants 2

Joey Hamilton held visiting San Francisco to four hits in seven innings and Wally Joyner had a two-run double as the Padres increased their winning streak to six.

The Giants have dropped three straight following an 11-game winning streak.

East Division

W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	48	14	767
Boston	44	18	10
Pittsburgh	33	29	146
Baltimore	32	30	178
Tampa Bay	27	35	215

Central Division

W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	38	24	594
Minnesota	30	32	186
Chicago	27	35	186
Detroit	24	38	224
Kansas City	24	38	240

West Division

W	L	Pct.	GB
Texas	39	27	591
Seattle	29	37	285
Oakland	29	37	285
San Diego	28	38	291
Arizona	22	44	324

National League

W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	46	22	674
San Francisco	37	29	181
Philadelphia	30	36	249
Montreal	26	40	294
Florida	28	47	299

Central Division

W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	40	26	606
Chicago	39	27	591
Minnesota	37	31	514
Pittsburgh	33	34	593
St. Louis	31	35	670

West Division

W	L	Pct.	GB
San Diego	45	25	632
San Francisco	41	27	603
Los Angeles	34	33	507
Colorado	28	40	515
Arizona	22	46	524

Jeter chomping at the bit

By DAVID LEHMAN

NEW YORK - Bernie Williams needs only his guitar and a folding chair to make it through another day on the disabled list. Williams could sit peacefully for hours plucking those strings, and his presence would barely be noticed, except for the sounds emanating from his locker.

Derek Jeter is a different story. His only hobby is baseball, which also happens to be his job, and the past nine days on the DL have been a maddening experience for the young shortstop. When Jeter is not in the trainer's room getting treatment for his strained abdominal muscle, he usually is bouncing around the clubhouse like a loose electron.

"He's miserable," said catcher Jorge Posada, perhaps Jeter's best friend on the team. "He needs to play every day to be happy."

Jeter is learning to cope. The day after he was put on the disabled list, Jeter was heard screaming in the clubhouse: "Fifteen days! Fifteen days!" The emotion was real, the fury only half in jest.

Those feelings may intensify this week, however. As a raging downpour soaked Yankee Stadium, forcing the postponement of Saturday's game against the Cleveland Indians, Manager Joe Torre suggested that Jeter is doubtful for his scheduled return Friday in Cleveland and even hinted at a rehab stint in the minors.

Torre has grown more cautious with Jeter during the past week, and the manager doesn't want to rush him back and risk damaging him for the remainder of the season.

Torre figured that Jeter is roughly four or five days away from such an assignment, and that surely would delay his return to the lineup.

Jeter, who injured himself June 3 against the Devil Rays when he tried to check a swing, began playing catch Friday. Before then, he was limited to riding a stationary bicycle and watching games from the dugout, which has not been one of his favorite activities. "I've run out of things to do," Jeter said. "I'm out there cheering on my teammates, but when you're not playing, it's frustrating."

Said David Cone: "He's got a little taste of what it's like to be a pitcher. That can drive you crazy. It really can. It's very difficult to be patient when you're young and used to playing every day. He bounces around quite a bit, bugging everybody." (Newsday)

As Malone goes, so go the Jazz

The Chicago Bulls have no answer for Utah's Karl Malone at full force. No way of stopping him when he plays well.

That was true in the first four games of the NBA Finals, when Malone piddled around and stopped himself and the Bulls sprinted to the brink of another title.

And it was certainly true in Game 5 on Friday night, when Malone scored 25 points in the second half to carry the Jazz to a victory that kept the series going.

If that performance awakened Malone, meaning that we should expect more of the same in Game 6 (last night at the Delta Center), the Bulls are in for a serious fight. Bulls center Luc Longley is overmatched on Malone. And Malone has a history of dominating Dennis Rodman, even though Rodman had success earlier in the series.

A year ago, the Bulls slowed Malone with Brian Williams and Jason Caffey, both now gone. This year, only Malone has no antidote.

If Malone suddenly is starting to play big, the Jazz still has a shot in this series despite trailing 3-2.

Not that the Bulls were quivering after the Mailman's first on-time delivery of the series Friday night.

"One good game for Malone out of five, that's not bad for us," Michael Jordan said. "We just have to clamp down again."

That's the sound of disdain, the sound of a five-time champion still unconvinced of Malone's ability to dominate for long in this series.

You'd think such doubt would motivate Malone, but he wouldn't even address the issue of his impact. "I'm not here to talk about Karl Malone and where this (performance) ranks (among his career best)," he told a roomful of reporters Friday night. "This was a team win. If there's one more Karl Malone question, I'm leaving. If there's a team question, I'll answer it."

A noble stance. But let's get serious. It was no coincidence that the Jazz made the biggest comeback since Malone's hairline on a night when Malone finally played like a Dream Teamer.

On any team in any sport, there is a basic structure that serves as a blueprint for success. The role players fill their roles. The stars carry the load. If the star isn't carrying his load, his team isn't going to win.

It's that simple. The Jazz has decent depth and versatility, but it doesn't have the resources to beat the Bulls with Malone producing at a diminished rate.

What happened to him in the first four games of the series is baffling. He averaged 30 points in Utah's sweep of the Lakers in the Western Conference finals. He looked unstoppable. But then ...

clank. You can't just credit the Bulls' defense, as suffocating as it is.

That doesn't explain Malone just standing on the perimeter missing jumpers for most of the game and then disappearing altogether in the fourth quarter.

It was as if he were in a fog, completely lost and out of sorts.

MY CALL

By JOHN EISENBERG

To credit Rodman is too easy. Malone has always dismissed Rodman's clutch-

ing, trash talking and play-acting antics. They have known each other since they carpoled together in a summer league in the early '80s.

Long before Rodman became a cross-dressing iconoclast, Malone has never bought the act. He has always just pushed the smaller Rodman around. But this time, he let Rodman push him out to the free-throw line without pushing back. Go figure.

Malone gave the same explanation several times earlier in the series. He was just taking what the offense gave him. Staying in his role. Blah, blah.

Again, a noble gesture. The humble superstar. And he does rely on Utah's timing offense more than his own post-up abilities, which are average.

But there are times to put that humble stuff aside and admit you're the man. Jordan does. When the Bulls need a basket, Jordan steps out of the offense, demands the ball and takes it to the rim. That Malone doesn't, or hasn't, is one of the biggest differences between him and Jordan.

The Jazz need that from Malone. As strange as it sounds, Utah needs him to have a bigger ego.

He had one on Friday, although not so much late in the fourth quarter, when he had only one basket in the last six minutes. But his 17-point third quarter gave the Jazz life and stunned the Bulls.

Suddenly, he was driving to the basket, dominating Rodman, setting the tone.

Why did he suddenly come alive? Who knows? He has always been one of the NBA's stranger ducks. He was afraid to play with Magic Johnson after Johnson contracted the virus that causes AIDS. He said he would start packing a gun because of all the crazy fans out there.

He is the Truckstop Tommy wanna-be who spent a day off last week driving around with an Illinois state trooper "weighing trucks."

When reporters giggled at his low-scale idea of fun, Malone got defensive. "You guys laugh all the hell you want to, but it was a fun day for me," Malone said. "I don't care what you do on your day off."

Point made.

Come to think of it, that's just what Utah needs from him now: Points made. Lots of them. A repeat of Friday's performance. Two repeats, in fact.

It's that or bust for the Utah Jazz now.

(The Baltimore Sun)

Red Wings just a shot away

Fedorov goal, Detroit's 2-1 Stanley Cup Finals lead



WASHINGTON — After playing an energetic, exciting Game 2 in the Stanley Cup Finals Thursday, the Capitals and the Detroit Red Wings set the game back 30 years Saturday night with a Game 3 that was like old time hockey.

Lots of body checks. Lots of goalie saves. Lots of blocked shots. Lots of whistles. Lots of line changes. And, of course, mucking in the corners. Just not a lot of offense. Sort of like soccer on ice.

The Red Wings won, 2-1, on Sergei Fedorov's 10th goal of the playoffs at 15:09. Fedorov picked up Doug Brown's pass off the right boards in the neutral zone, sprinted into the Caps' zone and cut to the middle.

Using Caps defenseman Calle Johansson as a screen, Fedorov roofed a wrist shot to the top-right corner of the net past goalie Olaf Kolzig.

Fedorov is living up to the new contract he signed with the Wings late in the season. Under terms of the contract, by this coming July 1 Fedorov will have received \$28 million for four months' work. He will earn \$2m in each of the next five seasons.

For the first time since 1976 — when the Canadiens defeated the Flyers 4-3, 2-1, and 3-2 — the first three games of the Finals have been decided by one goal. Game 4 is here tomorrow night.

Detroit won the first two games 2-1 and 5-4. Only one team in NHL history has rallied from a 3-0 deficit in the finals to win the Stanley Cup, the Toronto Maple Leafs in 1942 against Detroit. This Detroit club can now become the first team since the Pittsburgh Penguins in 1991 and 1992 to capture consecutive Cups.

Coach Scotty Bowman also would tie Toe Blake's record for Stanley Cup titles by a coach with eight. The Caps had trailed 1-0 after two periods. Brian Bellows' fifth goal of the playoffs tied the series at 1-1.

Teammate Adam Oates started the play by skating out of the zone with the puck. Oates passed to Maltby, but the puck hit a Capitals' defenseman and went out of play.

The Capitals wanted to tighten their defense around Kolzig, avoiding making turnovers and giving the puck better out of their own zone.

"We just can't keep making mistakes in our zone," coach Ron Sutter said.



WINNING MARGIN — Detroit's Sergei Fedorov scored the winning goal in Game 3 against the Red Wings, Detroit's Stanley Cup Finals advantage. (Reuters)

The Capitals' defense was tight, but the Wings' attack was relentless. Fedorov's goal was the only one of the game.

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Hoddle looking for England's first World Cup win

By TIMOTHY COLLINGS

MARSEILLE (Reuters) — Coach Glenn Hoddle needs to find a solution to England's recent goal drought when he faces wily and experienced Henryk Kasperczak and his Tunisia side in their World Cup opener today (kickoff 15:30 Israel time).

For Hoddle, in his first big competition as boss, it is a chance to prove his doubters wrong in a group G fixture his team should, on paper, win with ease. They face apparently tougher opponents Romania and Colombia later in the group.

But successive disappointments with experimental teams in warm-up matches produced only one goal for England in their three final games and did nothing to increase the confidence of a squad troubled by off-field problems in the run-up to the World Cup.

Kasperczak, who on Saturday signed a contract to join French club Bastia as coach after the tournament, will hope to capitalize on England's nerves. No player from either nation has ever played in the finals before.

Yet Hoddle has remained adamant that he and his players have the potential to lift the trophy for the first time since 1966 despite the absence of the inspirational Paul Gascoigne, dropped for failing to get himself fit and injury doubts among other players.

Hoddle's belief in detailed preparation and a near-fixation with secrecy have also made it very difficult to assess his tactics with the north Africans.

In a rare news briefing, he dropped a clear hint that he might select Liverpool striker Michael Owen, 18,

who has scored 11 goals in 11 appearances for his club, as a substitute.

"I think Michael Owen is a very good player," Hoddle said. "I think he is a very good player."

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Bulldogs, St. Kilda maintain edge

MELBOURNE (AP) —

Australian Football League powerhouses Western Bulldogs and St. Kilda continued their one-two domination of Australian Rules football with easy victories yesterday.

The Bulldogs rolled to their tenth victory in 12 matches with an 18.14 (122) to 15.6 (96) win over Fremantle, while St. Kilda easily handled Collingwood 17.15 (117) to 11.16 (82).

The results left the Bulldogs in top spot on the ladder with 40 points while St. Kilda, with a 9-3 record, is in second with 36 points. From there, it's eight points down to six teams that share third place on 28 with 7-5 records — West Coast, the Sydney Swans, Geelong, Richmond, North Melbourne and Melbourne.

In two other matches yesterday, Richmond beat North Melbourne

19.13 (127) to 14.8 (92) and the Brisbane Lions drew 18.15 (123) with Port Adelaide.

On Saturday, a strong last quarter from Adelaide midfielder Mark Ricciuto in his return from injury led his side to a two-point win over Essendon. The Crows scored four consecutive behinds to win 15.18 (108) to 15.16 (106).

Geelong, finalists for six of the past seven years, moved into the top eight for the first time this season after beating Melbourne 22.9 (141) to 7.4 (46). Geelong kicked the first 15 goals of the match.

Carlton beat Sydney 14.16 (100) to 11.8 (74), the Swans' third loss in a row.

On Friday, the West Coast Eagles held Hawthorn scoreless for the first 20 minutes of the fourth quarter to beat the Hawks 19.9 (123) to 17.6 (108). The teams were level after three quarters.

England call up Headley to replace Gough

LONDON (Reuters) — Kent's Dean Headley will replace injured pacesman Darren Gough in England's second Test against South Africa at Lord's on Thursday, the squad's selectors said yesterday.

Gough broke his finger in the first Test at Edgbaston which ended in a draw after rain washed out the final day.

Gough's Yorkshire team mate Chris Silverwood was named as 12th man in preference to Warwickshire's uncapped Ed Giddins, the selectors said.

Giddins became the leading wicket-taker in England this season on his return to county cricket after serving an 18-month ban for failing a drugs test.

He took 11 wickets against Gloucestershire.

Team: Alec Stewart (captain), Mike Atherton, Mark Butcher,

Nasser Hussain, Graham Thorpe, Mark Ramprakash, Mark Ealham,

Dominic Cork, Robert Croft, Dean Headley, Angus Fraser. 12th

man: Chris Silverwood.

Crestfallen Spain mourns defeat by Nigeria

MADRID (Reuters) — The dejected image of Spanish World Cup goalkeeper Andoni Zubizarreta gazed from the front page of nearly every Spanish newspaper yesterday, as a stunned nation tried to take in the first-round defeat by Nigeria.

Zubizarreta blamed himself for deflecting a shot into his own net for the second Nigerian goal, the papers said.

Banner headlines reading: "Our world has fallen apart" and "Spain's world is punctured" captured the mood of the Spanish after the 3-2 loss. Spanish police had on Saturday braced themselves for acts of vandalism and violence but despondent fans stayed at home.

Spanish daily *Diario 16* said the defeat showed the side had no self-confidence and passed a portion of the blame for the defeat on coach Javier Clemente.

"The Spanish side was excessively irregular and disoriented... which (Clemente's) experiments added to decisively," the paper said in an editorial.

English violence in Paris, police use tear gas

MARSEILLE (Reuters) — English football fans threw bottles at the stadium and set off a riot in Paris yesterday, as police used tear gas to clear the area.

The riot broke out after the English fans, who had been warned not to enter the stadium, started throwing bottles at the police.

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CRITICS' CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AIZENSTADT

Avner Biran leads the Israel Camerata Jerusalem in its season finale, playing psalm music by Handel and Vivaldi with soloists soprano Linda Perillo, countertenor Stephen Wallace, tenor Joseph Corwell and bass Rudolf Piernay, as well as the Rheinische Kantorei. Tonight at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall in Jerusalem (9 p.m.).

DANCE

HELEN KAYE

Flamenco at its earliest comes from Spain with La Chadrá de Sevilla performing Salvador Llorca's *Carmen* with the astounding Lalo Tena in the title role. This is Llorca's own period piece of the past, a gypsy that Bizet's opera immortalized, and Lalo Tena is due to arrive in Jerusalem this week to promote the new Andalusian. Last performance tonight at the Aviv Performing Arts Center at 8:30 p.m.

ENGLISH THEATER

HELEN KAYE

Today Queen Mary College of London is presenting *Coleridge's Night in Robe*, a play that follows the poet's life in the framework of the Hebrew University's International Studies Drama Festival. On Thursday, June 18, the play will be performed at the Aviv Performing Arts Center at 8:30 p.m. The play is a collaboration between the Aviv Performing Arts Center and the Hebrew University's International Studies Drama Festival. On Thursday, June 18, the play will be performed at the Aviv Performing Arts Center at 8:30 p.m. The play is a collaboration between the Aviv Performing Arts Center and the Hebrew University's International Studies Drama Festival.

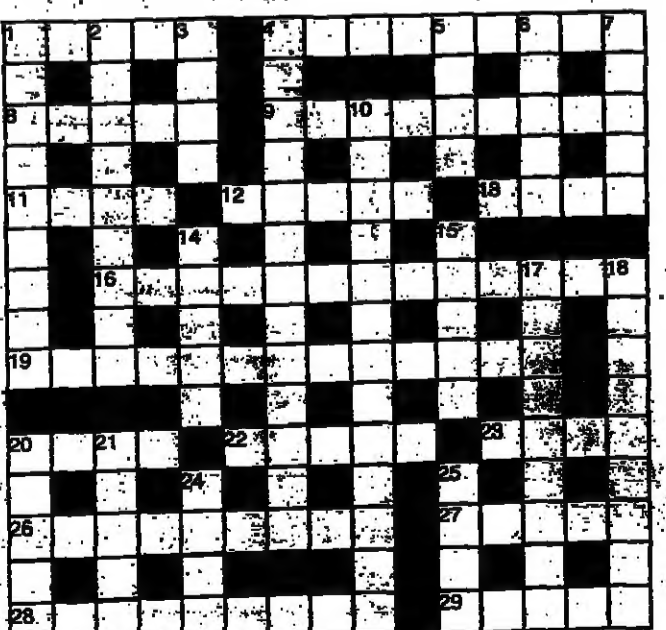
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WINNING CARDS

Yesterday's winning cards are: 9 J K A

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

- ACROSS
- A role that is distinct (9)
 - Heavenly business enterprise meant to go broke (9)
 - Strains of Harrow school's opening (5)
 - Centre in which adolescents stick together (8, 4)
 - Standard quarter-cut (4)
 - Light meal for number in bed (9)
 - Heavenly body like Madonna? (4)
 - Eve, maturing, turned out contentious (13)
 - Oldie taking higher subject (6, 7)
 - French duke goes to king for nothing (4)
 - Gold sovereign? (5)
- DOWN
- What tourists see in Athens—a harvest on poor soil (9)
 - Confirm Cartesian plan (9)
 - In which to see expert bowling analysis? (4)
 - Contraption of magnificent fellow, in the air? (6, 7)



SOLUTIONS

1. A role that is distinct (9) - ACTRESS
2. Heavenly business enterprise meant to go broke (9) - BROKE
3. Strains of Harrow school's opening (5) - OPENING
4. Centre in which adolescents stick together (8, 4) - CENTRE
5. Standard quarter-cut (4) - QUARTER
6. Light meal for number in bed (9) - BED
7. Heavenly body like Madonna? (4) - MADONNA
8. Eve, maturing, turned out contentious (13) - EVELINE
9. Oldie taking higher subject (6, 7) - OLDIE
10. French duke goes to king for nothing (4) - DUKE
11. Gold sovereign? (5) - SOVEREIGN
12. What tourists see in Athens—a harvest on poor soil (9) - HARVEST
13. Confirm Cartesian plan (9) - PLAN
14. In which to see expert bowling analysis? (4) - ANALYSIS
15. Contraption of magnificent fellow, in the air? (6, 7) - CONTRAPTION

QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- Twist, novel by Dickens (6)
- Soaked through (6)
- Supervisor (7)
- Bundle of corn (5)
- Gemstone (4)
- Harmony marriage (5)
- Clear, readily understood (5)
- Fate (4)
- Hammered bolt (5)
- Idea (7)
- Empty (6)
- Attic (6)

DOWN

- Carrot (7)
- Unhappy (6)
- Harmful micro-organisms (5)
- Rainy season (7)
- Loaf (5)
- Cutting implement (5)
- Articulate precisely (9)
- Decorative flags (7)
- Gaunt (7)
- Short oratorio (7)
- Valiant (5)
- Expel from property (5)
- Faithful (5)

TV

CHANNEL 1 (11)

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- 8:45 Good Morning Israel
- 9:00 News Flash
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